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ABSTRACT

This study examines the role of schools as the primary agency for change in a bilingual country (Belgium) where a subordinate language group has emerged as the political and economic equal of the traditional power structure. The focus is on schools in Brussels, a city which has become a bilingual island surrounded by Dutch-language territory. The first part of the book explores the bilingualism of the country, and the second part studies the evolution of linguistic separatism. Specifically, the following points are treated: (1) bilingualism and the native language imperative; (2) bilingualism in education; (3) three patterns of bilingual education, namely, elite, assimilationist, and dual medium models; (4) the emergence of the idea of a Flemish nation and its ramifications for education; (5) the equilibrium model of separatism in the Language Law of 1932; (6) the division of educational institutions into linguistic components called for in the Language Law of 1963; (7) the human rights implications of this division; (8) patterns of conflict as revealed in sample case histories for the years 1966-1971; and (9) developments during the 1970s. (AMH)

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Elizabeth Sherman Swing

Bilingualism and Linguistic Segregation in the Schools of Brussels

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE VIII

PART ONE

THE BILINGUAL HERITAGE

CHAPTER I:
The Traditional Language Structure and the Mother Tongue Imperative 2

- An Uneasy Equilibrium 2
- The Language Communities of Belgium 3
- Images of Babel 5
  - Benevolent Bilingualism 5
  - Linguistic Imperialism 6
  - The Fractured Image 7
- The Mother Tongue Imperative 8
  - The Emergence of the Flemish Movement 8
  - The Mother Tongue Mystique 9
  - Mother Tongue Ambiguities 11

CHAPTER II:
Polarity and Paradox in Bilingual Education 18

- The Limits of Ethnicity 18
- The Bilingual Identity 19
- Complementary, Replacive and Supplementary Bilingualism 21
- A Paradox of Bilingual Education 23
  - The Concept of a Language of Education 23
  - The Bilingual School: A Definition 24
  - Bilingual Education and Language Shift 24

CHAPTER III:
Patterns of Bilingual Education in Brussels Before 1932 29

- Introduction 29
- The Elite Model 30
  - Education as Language Acquisition 30
    - The Latin School Model 30
    - The Private Tutor 30
    - The Vernacular School 31
  - The Status Vernacular in the Latin School 32

The Assimilationist Model 33
  The Instrumental Use of Language by a Foreign Ruler 33
    The Austrians 33
    The French 33
    The Dutch 34
  The Instrumental Use of Language in the New Nation 35
    A Francophone Identity 35
    Francisation of the Schools of Brussels 36
    Francisation and the Flemish Population of Brussels 37

The Dual Medium Model 39
  The Emergence of Dual Medium Schools 39
    From Mother Tongue to Netherlandish: The Charles Buls Model School 39
    Transitional Bilingualism 41
    The Pell-Mell Classroom 41
    A Second Language of Instruction 42
  The Efficacy of Dual Medium Schools 42

PART TWO

THE EMERGENCE OF SEPARATISM

CHAPTER IV:
The Idea of a Flemish Nation 53

Issues in the Language Quarrel 53
  Social, Political and Economic Issues 53
  Ideological Issues 53

The Separatist Movement 54
  The Emergence of Separatism 54
  Flemings and Germans 56
  Treason and the Language of Education 58

The Legacy of the Separatist Movement 60
  A Flemish Nation Within Belgium 60
  The Denationalization of the Flemish Child in the Schools of Brussels 62

CHAPTER V:
The Unbalanced Pivot 70

Introduction 70

The Language Law of 1932 71
  The Need for a Linguistic Balance 71
  Regional Parity 72
  The Rejection of Bilingual Schools 74

The Momentum of Linguistic Integration 76
  The Failure to Achieve a Linguistic Balance 76
  The Reality of School Structures in Brussels After 1932 79

CHAPTER VI:

Scission 87

- Scission as *Zeitgeist* 87
  - The Meaning of History 87
  - The Bilateral Image 88
- The Freezing of the Language Line 89
  - The Battle of the Census 89
  - Epistemological Political Boundaries 90
- Separate but Equal 92
  - The Language Line in the Schools of Brussels 92
  - A University Divides 97

CHAPTER VII:

Language and Human Rights 104

- Liberté du père de famille 104
  - The New Guerre Scolaire 104
  - Brusselse Cocktail Bruxellois 105
  - Centrifugal Politics 107
- The Strasbourg Case 108
  - The Dilemma in Flanders 108
  - Confrontation 109
- Human Rights in the Schools of Brussels 111
  - The Language Inspectorate 111
  - The Legal Maze 112

CHAPTER VIII:

Conflict and Accomodation 120

- Introduction 120
- Patterns of Conflict 121
  - The Francophone Education of Immigrants from Flanders 121
    - Pascale Veronique Berrevoets: The Persistence of a Flemish Identity 122
    - Luc Martou: The Establishment of a Francophone Identity 122
  - The Francophone Education of a Bilingual Flemish Bruxellois Child 123
    - Karin Geerinck: The Bilingual who Couldn't Speak French 123
    - Patrick Sibille: An Ambivalence Toward Dominance 123
    - Dirk de Leeuw: Bilingual Fleming with a Dominance of French 124
  - The Francophone Education of Young Adult Flemings 124
    - Marie-Louise Mertens: The Language of the English Classroom 125
    - Peter Vermeire: Strict Constructionism 125
    - Luc Ostyn: Education for a Career Outside of Belgium 126
    - Jeanne-Marie Kets: The Higher Education of a Professional Translator 126
  - The Education of Non-Belgian Children 126
    - Maria Kouvas: A Greco-Flemish Identity 126
    - Marlys van de Weerdt: The Imperfect Bilingual from Delft 127
    - Catherine Kerstiens: A Member of the International Set 127
    - Erik Jan van Rossum: The Child who had not Learned his Mother Tongue 128

The Pursuit of Bilingualism 128
  Michel de Schaepdrijver: The Advantages of Bilingualism 129
  Irene Parmentier: The Choice of a Pluralist Pattern 129
Education for Flemish Ethnicity 130
  Serge Willems: The Fleming who knew Only French 130
  Philippe Degraeve: The Attempt to Regain a Mother Tongue 130

The Centripetal-Centrifugal Matrix 130

CHAPTER IX:
Schools and Community Tensions After 1971 134

Schools and Communities 135

Issues of the 1970's 137
  Enrollment, Affirmative Action and Finance 137
  Communal Boundaries and School Governance 141

Lessons from Babel 142

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:
Constitution of Belgium of 7 February 1831 (excerpts) 148

APPENDIX B:
Law of 14 July 1932 on Language Regulations in Primary and Secondary Education 149

APPENDIX C:
Article 24 of the Law of 29 May 1959 (Pacte Scolaire) 154

APPENDIX D:
Law of 30 July 1963 on the Use of Languages in Education 155

APPENDIX E:
Law of 2 August 1963 (excerpts) 161

APPENDIX F:
Royal Decree Defining the Function of School Language Inspectors,
30 November 1966 162

APPENDIX G:
Excerpts from the Harmel Report, April 24, 1958 164

APPENDIX H:
European Convention on Human Rights, Articles 8, 14, and the First Protocole,
Article 2 166

APPENDIX I:
Déclaration du chef de famille 167
Verklaring van het Gezinshoofd 167

APPENDIX J:
Certificat concernant la langue de l'enseignement 169
Getuigschrift Betreffende de Onderwijstaal 169

APPENDIX K:

Excerpt from the Law of 26 July 1971 Restoring Freedom of Parental Choice of the Language of Instruction in the Brussels Schools 170

APPENDIX L:

Law of 27 July 1971 Modifying Article 10 of the Law of 30 July 1963 Concerning Language Instruction in Schools 171

BIBLIOGRAPHY 172

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1:
Unilingual French, Unilingual Flemish and Bilingual Population of Brussels, 1866-1880 38

TABLE 2:
The Mother Tongue of Primary Schools in Brussels, 1896 and 1911 43

TABLE 3:
The Second Language of Primary Schools in Brussels, 1896 and 1911 43

TABLE 4:
Unilingual French, Unilingual Flemish and Bilingual Population of Brussels, 1880 to 1930 45

TABLE 5:
Unilingual and Bilingual Primary Schools in Brussels, 1921 and 1927 45

TABLE 6:
The Language of Unilinguals or the Language of Choice in Brussels: 1910, 1920, 1930 . 72

TABLE 7:
Number of Transmutation Classes in Three Villages on the Periphery of Brussels, 1947-48, 1948-49, 1953-54 77

TABLE 8:
Number of Flemish Classes and Classes with Two Linguistic Sections in Communal and Subsidized Elementary and Nursery Schools in Brussels, 1928-29, 1938-39, 1945-46, 1949-50 79

TABLE 9:
Bilingual Students Enrolled in State Schools in Brussels Between 1947 and 1950 80

TABLE 10:
Percentage of School Population Enrolled in French and Flemish Regimes in State Schools, 1933-34, 1946-47, 1949-50 and 1952-53 81

TABLE 11:
Percentage of Students Enrolled in the Flemish Sections of Selected Preparatory Schools 1933-34, 1944-45, 1948-49 81

TABLE 12:
Comparison of the Number of Flemish Classes for Boys and Girls in Selected Brussels Schools in 1950 82

TABLE 13:
Comparison of the Percentage of Neerlandophones in the 19 Communes of Brussels, Official and Unofficial Figures: 1947, 1949, 1961, 1966 91

TABLE 14:
Population and Number of Netherlandish and French Classes in Communal Schools: 1962-1966 95

TABLE 15:
Evolution of French and Netherlandish Classes in Communal Schools with a Dual Regime: 1962-1966 96

TABLE 16:
Projected Class Size for Netherlandish and French-Language Elementary Schools in Brussels, 1971 96

TABLE 17:
Percentage of Students Enrolled in Dutch and in French Nursery and Elementary Schools in Brussels Between 1959 and 1971 97

TABLE 18:
Commission Cases: 1967-1971 113

TABLE 19:
Jury Cases: 1967-1971 113

TABLE 20:
Percentage of Francophones and Neerlandophones in Brussels and in the Six Communes with Facilities: 1947 and 1968 120

TABLE 21:
A Typology of Patterns of Conflict in the Schools of Brussels, 1966-1971 121

TABLE 22:
Enrollment in French and in Dutch Nursery and Elementary Schools in Brussels Between 1968-1969 and 1977-1978 138

TABLE 23:
Percentage of Students Enrolled in Dutch and in French Nursery and Elementary Schools in Brussels Between 1960-1961 and 1977-1978 139

LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

MAP 1:
Belgium: The Linguistic Areas, 1963 93

MAP 2:
Brussels and Surroundings, 1971 94

ILLUSTRATION:
Brusselse Cocktail Bruxellois 107

PREFACE

I had taught English in a suburban American high school, but I did not begin to recognize how complex a relationship may exist between language and education until I lived for a year in Belgium in 1970-71. Belgium is a Babel, a sharply divided Babel. In bilingual Brussels street signs proclaim that *Avenue des Arts* is also *Kunststraat*, that *Avenue du Commerce* is also *Handelstraat*; but no such clues are provided in the unilingual regions, so that one must know in advance that a sign marked *Bergen* in the Flemish region points the way to the city of *Mons* in Francophone Wallonia. Even in the bilingual capital one encounters a curious reticence: Flemish shopkeepers reluctant to answer inquiries in French, although able to do so if pressed; Walloons who claim no knowledge of Dutch at all. The bilingual signs are problematical, too; for partisans frequently paint over one of the languages. This is not a peaceful Babel.

In Belgium language is a political issue. Just before the fall elections in 1970, the Watermael section of Brussels where I lived was invaded daily by trucks whose loudspeakers broadcast the message: "Votez F.D.F." — an exhortation to vote for the *Front Démocratique des Bruxellois Francophones*, the radical French-language political party, the foil to *Volksunie*, which represents radical Flemings. Political flyers criticized the existence of a student-teacher ratio that was smaller in the Flemish than in the French-language schools. Editorials attacked the right of the language inspectorate to remove children from schools in the language regime selected by their parents. People talked of the 1968 language riots at the University of Louvain, which had precipitated the fall of the government of Premier Vanden Boeynants and led to the expulsion of Francophone students and faculty from the city of Leuven (Louvain) in Dutch-language territory, where the university was founded in 1425, to Ottignies in Wallonia, where *Louvain-la-Neuve* is being built at government expense. In 1970 I visited a private elementary school for children of the Francophone faculty who had not yet emigrated from Leuven and found that a twelve-foot fence separated it from the adjacent school for Flemish children — and the children from one another.

I learned other anomalies of educational structure when my teenage son and daughter discovered that they would have to become instant Flemings in order to study at the Conservatory of Brussels with the teachers of their choice. This metamorphosis was necessary because in 1966 the Conservatory of Music, heretofore one institution, had split in two, becoming the *Koninklijk Muziekconservatorium te Brussel*, on one hand, and the *Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles*, on the other, each with its own faculty in the same building. After enrolling in the Flemish sector, my daughter joined the Dutch-language student orchestra, an activity viewed as traitorous by classmates at the French-language lycée where she matriculated the rest of the week. She did not use very much Flemish, however. Members of the orchestra communicated with her in French, and her viola teacher preferred to practice his English during the weekly lesson. My son studied the French system on solfège in a class where Dutch was the language of instruction, but attended a violin master class where only French was used because the teacher, an Hungarian, did not know Dutch even though he had elected to affiliate with the Flemish sector of the conservatory. This was certainly a complicated Babel.

Meanwhile, my eleven-year-old son, the only American enrolled at a nearby Francophone state school, instructed me in the subtleties of the relationship between language and identity. Knowing no French at the beginning of the year, he was bewildered by the necessity of communicating by sign and gesture instead of by words; by the custom of standing deferentially when the school principal entered the classroom but not the janitor; by the frustration of a mode of instruction which stressed listening and memory skills when he could not possibly memorize what he did not understand. He is an intelligent boy, but his teacher and his classmates could not guess this fact because he did not have the tools which are the external verification of intelligence: the tools to receive communication and to express himself to others. He did not even have the linguistic advantage of Meno, the slave from whom Socrates extracted geometric feats. My son did not know the language. And language was essential even for mathematics — as he and I discovered when we spent hours translating his homework assignments so that he could begin to calculate the number of liters of wine that x kegs of y capacity will yield. For a long time he was a non-participant on the playground because he could not understand directions. And off the playground he was the butt of a practical joke: the classic language joke whereby he was taught by his peers to say, "Bonjour Monsieur Imbécile", to the Préfet, who was not amused.

Fortunately, my son began to acquire a functional control of the language of his environment within a few months. By spring he knew enough playground patois to play soccer and enough formal French to deliver an oral report at school: "Le gouvernement des Etats-Unis". It was a painful process, but he had become a bilingual. He had become, however, a particular kind of bilingual; for the roles he assigned to the two languages were mutually exclusive. French was consigned to school and to the world outside the home: to shops, trams, restaurants, and to occasional social events; but he steadfastly refused to speak French with me or to tolerate my speaking French with someone else in his presence. English and only English was the language of the family, the language of intimacy, the language that gave him security. Even reading for pleasure was exclusively an English language activity, although he would glance at *Tintin* comics. This attachment to English was paradoxical, for it became all the more pronounced as his French improved, as if his journey into bilingualism had to be balanced by sharpened perception of the language from which he derived identity, his mother tongue.

Within the context of my son's experience, I gradually became aware of contours in the Belgian language quarrel which I had not understood before. Generations of Flemings had migrated from Flanders to Brussels, where they adopted a French-language culture and experienced the same kind of dislocations that my son had — but with a difference. My son was a visitor to Belgium, secure in his mother tongue, secure in his expectation of a return to home. Flemings who entered the Francophone world were immigrants within their own country, and those who have rejected linguistic assimilation have reason to question a language hierarchy which has led so many of their identity group to discard their mother tongue. I had recognized all along that Francophones are heirs to a proud linguistic tradition, a tradition I had not questioned when I enrolled my son in a French-language school. As an American and therefore a dispassionate observer, I now found myself in a unique position: I could empathize with both sides.

This book is an outgrowth of this experience; for it was during the year that I lived and taught in Belgium that I began to discover the relationship of language to identity, of language to nation, of language to human rights. I did not decide to pursue this project, however, until after my return to the United States in 1971. Thus, I have tempered these initial insights with research on both sides of the Atlantic and with information gleaned during two return trips to Belgium in 1976 and 1979 when I talked with officials in both Ministries of Education, with educators, with scholars, with politicians, with ordinary Belgian citizens and also examined the records of language cases which had found their way to the courts between 1966 and 1971.

My subject is the role of schools as the primary agency for change in a bilingual country in which a subordinate language group has emerged as the political and economic equal of the traditional power elite. Once an agency for acculturation to a French-language national ethos, schools in Belgium have now become an agency for acculturation to two separate linguistic communities. Once an agency for linguistic integration, they are now an agency for linguistic segregation. Once an agency for the transmission of a traditional power structure, they are now an agency for the reconstruction of society.

The focus is on schools in Brussels, the capital of Belgium and seat of its remaining unitary institutions. A crossroad where the national languages are in daily contact, where linguistic nerves are rubbed rawest, Brussels has become a bilingual island surrounded by Dutch-language territory, a city where a language shift from Dutch to French has continued unabated; and its schools — despite their division into separate French and Dutch regimes — have remained an ambiguous agency for change to those who refuse to accept the separatist world that is struggling to be born.

The first section of the book explores a bilingual heritage which has refused to die. In chapter one disparate images of this legacy are juxtaposed with their antithesis, a mother tongue mystique. Chapter two explicates the complex concept of bilingualism in education. Chapter three traces the development of three patterns of bilingual education: an elite model, an assimilationist model, and a dual medium model. Thereafter, the focus is on the evolution of linguistic separatism. Chapter four explores the emergence of the idea of a Flemish nation and its ramifications for education. Chapter five describes the equilibrium model of separatism in the Language Law of 1932 — and its failure. Chapter six analyzes the next stage in the separatist experiment, the scission of educational institutions into the linguistic components called for in the Language Law of 1963. Chapter seven focusses on the human rights implications of this scission; chapter eight, on patterns of conflict as revealed in sample case histories for the years 1966 to 1971. Chapter nine, the closing chapter, examines developments during the decade of the 1970's when a widening chasm continued to separate the French- and Dutch- language communities despite partial restoration in 1971 of the right of parents to select the language of education for their children.

Colleagues have frequently quizzed me about the pragmatic implications of this study. Will examination of the emergence of linguistic separatism in the schools of Brussels provide insights useful to residents of North America? I must admit that I did not undertake this project with such a goal in mind. As Michael Sadler pointed in 1900, the study of a foreign system of education does not yield readily transferable solutions to practical problems in one's own culture. We have no right to expect that

> ... if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant. A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties, and of 'battles long ago.'*

Nevertheless, an understanding of the Belgian experience may be of indirect pragmatic use to those engaged in language planning on this side of the Atlantic. Flemings are, after all, one of the many language groups throughout the world who have fought to preserve their linguistic heritage from extinction. French-Canadians, Pennsylvania-Dutch, Basques, Bretons, Friesians, Welsh, Scots, Irish are all fighting a similar battle today — as are Hispanic minorities in many cities of the United States. Like French-Canadians, Flemings have a

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*Sir Michael Sadler, "Study of Foreign Systems of Education," [1900], George Z.F. Bereday, ed., *Comparative Education Review* 7, no. 3 (February 1964): 307.

clearly articulated separatist movement and enough political power to demand reorganization of the state in order to achieve social, economic, and linguistic parity. If they have won an uneven victory in their capital city, they have nevertheless succeeded in restructuring its schools — and in so doing, have provided a model for separatist groups elsewhere, including groups in Canada and the United States.

Considerable confusion still surrounds implementation of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 in the United States. Is the goal rapid assimilation of non-Anglophones into the language and culture of the mainstream through use of an efficient pedagogical tool, the mother tongue? Or is language maintenance the goal? Since 1932 Belgium has attempted to achieve language maintenance by fractionalizing its institutions and segmenting its society. Separatists in Québec have chosen a similar road, although they have not journeyed as far along it. As they gain political clout, linguistic minorities in the United States could also decide to opt for separatism rather than integration, and there are signs that some already have begun to do so. Recognition of this possibility is the beginning of wisdom in an era of cultural pluralism. We do not need to transplant other educational systems in order to learn from them.

Elizabeth Sherman Swing
St. Joseph's University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
August 1980

PART ONE

THE BILINGUAL HERITAGE

CHAPTER I

THE TRADITIONAL LANGUAGE STRUCTURE AND THE MOTHER TONGUE IMPERATIVE

An Uneasy Equilibrium

In modern Belgium an uneasy equilibrium exists between the necessity for bilingualism and the moral imperative for preservation of the mother tongue, between linguistic integration and linguistic segregation, between cosmopolitanism and ethnicity — and the schools, particularly the schools of the capital city Brussels, are at its focal point. We are reminded of the polarity in the myth of the Tower of Babel between a paradise lost, a paradise in which "the whole earth was of one language and one speech" (Genesis 11:1), and the new world of strange vernaculars that "confounded the understanding". For the Babel story is not just an etiological myth about the origin of the many verbal systems that separate people; it is also a myth about the origin of the longing for a universal language such as Latin in the Europe of the Middle Ages, or one of the "grandes langues de civilisation" which Antoine Meillet wrote about[1] or the concept of depth communication in modern linguistics. Bilingualism, the normal linguistic situation throughout history wherever different language groups have come into contact with one another, is not only a reminder that civilization is really a Babel; it is also an attempt to recreate the primordial universal language by building a bridge between mutually incomprehensible modes of communication. The moral imperative for maintenance of the mother tongue, on the other hand, is an assertion of the integrity of individual and ethnic identity. One does not surrender one's mother tongue without surrendering a part of one's self, and in modern Belgium bilingualism has come to be identified with such a surrender.

Contemporary sociolinguists have sometimes pictured bilingualism as a more comfortable, more permanent, social condition than did linguists in the past, "a (possibly) stable and widespread phenomenon in its own right", in the words of Joshua Fishman[2] — a view implied but not explored in the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 in the United States. There is no doubt that the "general trend of language policy over the last hundred years has shifted from [promotion of] unilingualism to recognition of linguistic diversity in the world generally and within separate countries"[3]. The fact that societal bilingualism is now nurtured by language planners throughout the world has not, however, eliminated those linguistic battlefields where there is an "inherent competition between language in contact"[4]; nor has it eliminated a widespread assumption that dominant languages spread at the expense of weaker[5] an assumption that implies at best an uneasy relationship between language groups:

> Generally speaking, we may certainly assume that where, in a given territory, one language disappeared and another one was introduced without the extermination of the autochthonous population — in other words, denationalization took place — there was a period in which many, and possibly all, people were bilingual[6].

The theory that bilingualism presages a language shift was, of course, a commonplace among an earlier generation of linguists. Antoine Meillet, for example, viewed the existence of societal bilingualism as evidence *per se* of communal instability. According to Meillet, there are two kinds of languages in Europe: those capable of expressing the subtleties and values of an advanced civilization and those outside the mainstream. Since only in the most fortuitous circumstance is a mother tongue likely to be a "langue de civilisation", members of other language groups who aspire to become "hommes distingués" have to learn the language of a more advanced culture, and they are likely to come to prefer it to their own. "Hommes distingués", therefore, may have one or more language shifts in a lifetime — a point illustrated for Belgium in *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (1928) by reference to the fact that one-sixth of the children born into Flemish homes replaced their mother tongue with French by the time they reached adulthood, proof positive of "la prépondérance du français comme langue de civilisation" and of Flemish as "une langue d'intérêt local"[7].

Modern Belgium does not need the theories of Meillet to substantiate an assumption that has dominated the polemics of a language quarrel for generations; namely, that bilingualism is a one-way road to unilingualism. The paradox of language planning in this bilingual country is the widespread belief that bilingualism may be a necessity for national unity, at least in the capital city, but it is at best a necessary evil[8]. For it is also the consensus that preservation of the two major national languages requires separatism: geographical separatism, division of the country into two unilingual regions, one using the French, the other the Dutch language, plus a bilingual capital using both; and educational separatism, the transformation of schools into unilingual French or Netherlandish institutions — one regime for Francophones, one for Flemings.

The Language Communities of Belgium

Two disparate language groups, one Germanic, one Latinate, have co-existed in the territory that is now Belgium since the 5th century A.D. when the Franks invaded this northern outpost of the Roman Empire. Details of the Frankish invasion are still debated[9]. Scholars hypothesize, however, that the division between Germanic north and Latinate south which still exists today marks the limit of a territory assimilated by Roman civilization, not necessarily the limit of a Roman defense line but the limit of a region so densely populated that the invading Franks adopted its Latin vernacular, whereas they established their own Germanic tongue in the sparsely settled northern region. Whatever its origin, this north-south language division has persisted for fifteen hundred years.

In the Latinate south, usually called Wallonia, French emerged as the dominant language, although some traces of Walloon, Picard, and Lorrain survived as regional dialects. In the north, an area which included the Netherlands until the 16th century, *Nederduitsch*, a dialect of low German sometimes referred to as *Thiois*, *Dietsch*, or *Duitsch* evolved into modern *Nederlands*, a language Anglophones refer to as *Dutch*, *Netherlandish*, or *Netherlandic*. The Belgian dialect of Dutch came to be called *vlaams* (*flamand* in French, *Flemish* in English), a somewhat confusing designation; for *Flemish* was a dialect of the medieval County of Flanders, just as Brabantine and Limburger were dialects of Brabant and Limburg. By synecdoche, however, *Flemish* has come to signify all of the Netherlandish dialects of northern Belgium — but it is an old-fashioned term. The official language is now called *Dutch* or *Netherlandish*, the same language as that of the Netherlands. Nevertheless, old terminology is still used. Belgians whose mother tongue is Netherlandish or a Netherlandish dialect are still called *Flemings* and their entire region *Flanders*, a region that includes the modern provinces of East and West Flanders, Antwerp, Limburg, and the northern portion of Brabant. In like manner, Francophone Belgians are still called *Walloons* and their region *Wallonia*, a region consisting of the provinces of Namur, Liège, Hainaut, Luxembourg, and the southern section of Brabant.

A third community[10] co-exists with Flanders and Wallonia in modern Belgium: Brussels, the capital city and a bilingual zone within Flemish Brabant. Brussels occupies a pivotal position in Belgium, for *Brucsella*, as it was called in a diploma delivered in 966 A.D. by the chancellery of Otto I, the first of the Holy Roman Emperors, was once a Teutonic village, a village whose earliest municipal charter in the vernacular was in Flemish[11]. A center of governmental and economic power long feared and envied by the other regions — "Helsche duivel die tot Brussel sijt" (the infernal devil who sits in Brussels)[12] goes a 16th century counter-reformation saying — Brussels has had a French-Dutch bilingual tradition since the Burgundians established their Court there in the 15th century. The seat of government for a succession of foreign rulers: Spaniards (1579-1713), Austrians (1713-1792), French (1792-1815), Dutch (1815-1830) — all but the latter of whom used French for most affairs of state, Brussels became in 1830 the capital of a newly independent nation which continued this Francophone tradition. By then, however, Brussels was no longer a Flemish village but was instead a cosmopolitan city whose dominant culture was French.

The languages of modern Brussels span a broad spectrum, which — as Hugo Baetens-Beardsmore has demonstrated — in itself constitutes a language community[13]. But it is a community that is the despair of linguistic purists. Their usual target is *bruxellois*, a patois of Netherlandish syntax and French vocabulary that is the speech of a majority of Brussels citizens. This language has no official status, despite the attempts of J.F. Willems to give it sanction by using it in his parable of the prodigal son (1837) — just a vital day-to-day life.

The problems faced by the purists go beyond the complexities of *bruxellois*, however. In the everyday speech of the city imperfect bilinguals regularly substitute the words of one language for words of the other, "stuk" for "morceau", for example. Or they may shift from one language to the other in mid-sentence: "Tu dois être grand, un petite geraakt er niet bij". Even unilinguals are not exempt from this linguistic interference, although the insertion of Flemish words into Francophone speech is likely to be for comic effect. More important is the impact of Flemish on the syntax of Brussels French, a demonstrable influence not necessarily recognized by the speaker[14]. Small wonder that intellectuals from both language communities have tended to focus on standards of linguistic correctness. Flemings have already made such a zealous attempt to weed French words and forms from their language that Belgian Dutch now contains fewer borrowings from French than the Dutch of the Netherlands[15]; and a recent plethora of books and newspaper articles by Francophones attempt to define which "belgicismes" are intrinsic to Belgian French and which pollute the language[16]. This "purist syndrome" goes beyond Brussels, of course, but it has particular importance in that city where the standard forms of French and Dutch are the polar extremes in a language spectrum that has an amalgam of the two languages at its center.

The linguistic pluralism of Brussels and the high incidence of Dutch-French bilingualism that has resulted could symbolize unity in a country where two language groups share a common heritage — and for many it has. Others, however, reject bilingualism as the wellspring for national identity.

> C'est à Bruxelles qu'a pris naissance la mirifique théorie du bilinguisme intégral. La Belgique est un pays bilingue, donc tous les Belges doivent être bilingues ... Cette théorie est imbécile[17]

was Jules Destrée's comment on such an ideal. In recent years Brussels has looked more like a passageway between Scylla and Charybdis where identity is lost and languages corrupted than a paradigm for the peaceful linguistic integration of a bilingual country, and Belgium itself like a battlefield where wary combatants defend their linguistic turf. These disparate perceptions are all part of the Belgian heritage, as we shall see when we examine three images of the Babel that is Belgium.

Images of Babel

Benevolent Bilingualism

In 1511 Jean Lemaire de Belges proposed that two vernaculars, in this case French and Italian, could live together in a state of friendly rivalry[18], a claim amply substantiated by the testimony of the Italian traveler, Ludovico Guicciardini, when he visited Flanders in 1567 and found in the large cities there a number of citizens who, in addition to Flemish, knew French "comme langue maternelle' and a number of other languages as well:

> Il y en a presque un nombre infini, lesquels, outre leur langue maternelle, combien qu'ils n'aient jamais été hors du pays, savent aussi parler divers langages et principalement le français, lequel ils ont fort familier, et plusieurs quelques langages plus lointains[19].

This image of a benevolent bilingualism was basic to the work of Henri Pirenne, in whose *Histoire de Belgique* Belgium is delineated as "une contrée, sans frontières naturelles, où l'on parle deux langues" (a country without natural frontiers where people speak two languages)[20]. For Pirenne, the very existence of linguistic diversity was a source of strength for a nation which had become a symbol for European civilization: "Etre Belge, c'était une manière d'être Européen, puisque la Belgique elle-même était un microcosme de l'Europe"[21]. Like Guicciardini, who found bilingualism predominantly among those whose mother tongue "s'appelle par les étrangers vulgairement *flamande*, en latin *teutonica*,[22] Pirenne did note that it was "la civilization flamande" that has "largement bénéficié du bilinguisme" — a crucial distinction. But even so, the image Pirenne projected was of peaceful and beneficial intermingling between Flemings and Walloons: "Aussi loin que l'on remontât dans l'histoire de la Belgique, il était impossible d'y découvrir le moindre soupçon d'un conflit de race entre Flamands et Wallons"[23].

In Pirenne's Belgium Flemings learn French out of an enlightened self interest because it is an instrument "familier et souvent indispensable" for participation in intellectual life[24]. The superiority of the French language is assumed. Under Austrian rule, for example:

> Il lui paraîtrait monstrueux et grotesque de combattre à Bruxelles une langue que tous les princes, tous les courtisans, tous les diplomates d'Allemagne se font gloire de parler, et qui n'est guère moins en honneur autour de Marie-Thérèse qu'autour de Frédéric II[25].

Even the emergence of the 19th century Flemish Movement, which Pirenne described as "l'agitation sentimentale", not to be disassociated from "les misères du prolétariat",[26] did not alter his belief in the benevolence of bilingualism for Flemings. Flemish may have survived as the "langue populaire", but it would never fulfill the functions served by French, a language as essential for industry in 19th and 20th century Belgium as it was for scholarship and for government: "Depuis l'essor industriel communiqué au pays par le libre échange, le développement des affaires a rendu plus intense le besoin de la seule langue dont elles se servent: le français"[27].

A similar premise underlies the world view of another historian, who like Pirenne has influenced generations of Belgians, Godefroid Kurth, author of *La frontière linguistique en Belgique*. Kurth also assumed the superiority of the French language; but where Pirenne stressed the longevity of bilingual traditions, Kurth stressed their sociolinguistic patterns. According to Kurth, it is the barbarian who in his contact with civilization is more likely to become bilingual — and once bilingual is likely to undergo a language shift, a phenomenon which Kurth, like Meillet a generation later, viewed as a general law of linguistics:

> Le barbare savait en général deux langues, alors le civilisé n'en possédait qu'un ... Chose étrange en apparence, et pourtant facile à comprendre si l'on réfléchit, en pareille rencontre, c'est le peuple qui sait les deux langues qui finira un jour par ne plus parler la sienne[28].

Kurth introduced this general law in reference to the language shift of the 5th century Franks who intermingled with a Romanized population in the southern area of what is now Belgium, learned the Latin vernacular of their neighbors, and came to prefer it to their own. But he also implied that this process has repeated itself throughout Belgian history. He does not label it language shift, nor identify Flemings as barbarians, but he does emphasize the fact that Flemings adopted French in the area north of the language line. The 12th century court was a place where languages fraternized, where "les plus brillants représentants de la chevalerie de France"[29] could be found. Flanders was a bilingual zone by the 13th century:

> On n'exagerera donc pas en concluant de tous ces faits que, dès le XIII^{e} siècle, le français était en Flandre comme une seconde langue maternelle, ou, si l'on veut, une seconde langue nationale, d'ordre plus relevé que la première, et qui était considérée comme la vraie langue de la bonne société et des gens cultivés[30].

French was the language of royalty in the Renaissance. It was the language used by the Spanish and Austrians for state affairs. It had become the mother tongue of Belgian statesmen: "En un mot, le français est considéré comme la langue comprise de tout, à ce titre il est employé partout où il s'agit de choses qui intéressent toute la nation"[31]. The peaceful evolution of French as the language of all Belgians could be anticipated. Meanwhile, the so-called language line divided a unilingual area, Wallonia, from an increasingly bilingual Flanders.

Linguistic Imperialism

A somewhat different picture is projected by certain Flemish commentators. In the 16th century Jacob de Meyere came to the conclusion that the French language was making such gains in Flemish territory that it would eventually push the Teutonic tongue back to the Rhine[32]. This was an early lone voice. By the 18th century, however, a more strident voice was heard, that of J.B.C. Verlooy, a Brussels lawyer whose treatise on the decline of the Flemish language has become a classic document in the Flemish Movement. In *Verhandeling op d'onacht der Moederlyke Tael in der Nederlanden* (On the Neglect of the Mother Tongue in the Netherlands), Verlooy was particularly critical of the state of the Flemish tongue in the city of Brussels, a city where Flemings lost identity and integrity:

> The Flemish language is especially maltreated at Brussels. In this city it is not only neglected but also despised ... There are those who purposely speak Flemish badly in order to look as if they had been educated in France ... Never is any attention paid our language by the public authorities ... Our orthography is not yet fixed and has not yet received that varnish of an official hand from which French is blessed ... Our language is banished from the theaters. It is pushed to the side in our most respected councils. The greater part of our songs, not to say all, nearly all, our gazettes and other publications of the press are in French, and Francophones alone gain knowledge and profit from them[33].

Such arguments, which imply that the advance of French in Flanders was more an act of linguistic imperialism than an example of the benevolent progress of civilization, have become central to a Flemish interpretation of Belgian history. Historians of this persuasion refuse to deduce widespread bilingualism just because official documents were in French[34]. Instead, they hypothesize use of French by a small ruling coterie in a society in which the conquerors spoke one language, the common people another. According to this view, introduction of the French language into the Flemish region was a political act initiated by the Count of Flanders, a vassal of the French crown, and perpetuated by international entrepreneurs who settled in Flanders in the 16th century[35]. The adoption of French by certain Flemings thereafter was a necessity for survival, but a necessity which corrupted and impoverished the life and culture of the Flemish people.

According to the Dutch historian, Pieter Geyl, whose particular interest was the history of the Netherlandish people, the tradition of benevolent bilingualism associated with the historiography of the Francophone writers is itself an example of linguistic imperialism. Geyl was particularly critical of Henri Pirenne, whom he accused of distorting history by ignoring the continuous existence of a Dutch language region in the area that is now northern Belgium and the Netherlands.

> He |Pirenne| does not for a moment conceal the fact that we are in the presence here of an unusual phenomenon: the exchange of influence between, the gradual growing together into one nation of Germanic and Romance populations, Flemings and Walloons. But he is all the time out to show how crisscross connections, economic, social, cultural, led to a similarity of conditions and bound together regions on either side of the linguistic boundary ... Every incident or phenomenon that can strengthen the impression of intercourse and exchange across the linguistic boundary is made much of; but the intercourse and exchange connecting the various sections of the Dutch-speaking area, the northern half of his Belgium and present-day Holland, in other words, is passed over[36].

For Geyl the division of the Dutch linguistic area in the 16th century was an accident of history, a result of the fact that the Duke of Parma and his army were stopped by the Rhine and Meuse rivers, not the preordained result of essential differences between the people of Flanders and the people of the Netherlands[37] The 19th century, an era Pirenne saw as the culmination of a tradition of a benevolent bilingualism, Geyl documents as a period of profound humiliation for Flemings. And he characterizes Pirenne himself, a Walloon teaching history at the University of Ghent, then a French-language university in Flanders, as an imperialist who occupied "an advanced post in the movement of penetration and conquest which French civilization, under the auspices of the centralized Belgian state, was carrying on in Flanders"[38].

The Fractured Image

For some observers of Belgian society, the reality that has dominated all other perceptions is the basic incompatibility between Flemings and Walloons. Charles Baudelaire visited Belgium in 1864-65 and was struck by the particularities of the people that he met. To his Parisian ears, the French of Brussels sounded strange. Stranger yet was the attitude toward Flemish, the language of the common people which the upper classes pretended not to know — although they could scold their servants in it if need be:

> On ne sait pas le français, *personne* ne le sait, mais tout le monde *affecte* de ne pas savoir le flamand. C'est de bon goût. La preuve qu'ils le savent très bien, c'est qu'ils engueulent leurs domestiques en flamand[39].

In his journal, condescendingly labeled *Pauvre Belgique*, which he kept with the intent of recording impressions "grotesques et sérieuses", Baudelaire observed that there is not a real Belgian nation, just a political abstraction with centrifugal forces already on a course of self-destruction: "Une partie peut s'en aller à la Prusse, la partie flamande à la Hollande, et les provinces wallonnes à la France. — Grand malheur pour nous"[40]. There were no Belgian people, just members of disparate ethnic and linguistic groups: "Il n'y a pas de peuple belge, proprement dit. Il y a des races flamandes et wallonnes, et il y a des villes ennemies"[41].

The eminent Walloon statesman, Jules Destrée, went even further when he stated in an open letter to the King of Belgium in 1912: "Vous régnez sur deux peuples. Il y a en Belgique, des Wallons et des Flamands, il n'y a pas de Belges"[42], Destrée went on to list irreconcilable incongruities between the two groups. Flemings are a fragment of the Germanic Empire, Walloons a fragment of France; Flemings agricultural, Walloons industrial; Fleming devout Catholics, Walloons free-thinkers. Fleming are slow, opinionated, patient, disciplined; Walloons lively, inconstant, perpetually irreverent of authority. But the decisive proof of these cleavages, a proof more incontestable than differences in history, geographical area, temperament, and belief is the difference in language. Borrowing a slogan from the Flemish Nationalists: "De taal is gansch het volk" (Language is the essential characteristic of a people), Destrée pointed out that language confers identity upon an individual, that a difference in mother tongue is a fundamental difference.

Destrée concluded, therefore, that bilingualism could not be the basis for a Belgian national identity. Bilinguals, as he pointed out, are only a small portion of the population and are mostly Flemings, a group who do not object to learning French, whereas Walloons have a "répugnance marquée" to learning Dutch — an imbalance that is unfair to Walloons because Flemings hold the preponderance of civil service jobs that require knowledge of both languages. Destrée was particularly distressed by the bilingualism of the common people in urban areas such as Brussels, which he saw as endangering and corrupting both languages. Because of the group that speak a jargon of Dutch and French, the capital city, in his view, was ignorant, sceptical, suspicious, ungenerous, unenthusiastic, seeking only a comfortable mediocrity, a "middelmatisme", a state as lazy as the Flemish-French word that describes it. For Destrée Brussels was an "agglomérat des métis", an agglomeration of mongrels. The "fusion" of Flemings and Walloons was not only undesireable, it was impossible. The only alternative was separatism[13].

These then are the polarities. On the one hand, Belgian identity is centered in a traditional language structure based on a linguistic hierarchy which assumes the superiority of French — a structure which has given rise to a beneficent bilingualism, according to one group of historians, to a linguistic imperialism, according to another. On the other hand, Belgian identity is centered on linguistic ethnicity and on the constellation of values associated with the moral force of the mother tongue. Both of these identities constitute the linguistic heritage of modern Belgium, but in recent years the latter has become pivotal.

The Mother Tongue Imperative

The Emergence of the Flemish Movement

The moral imperative for the maintenance of the mother tongue is a rejection of the assumption of inequality between French and Flemish, a rejection of the concept of a "language of civilization", a rejection of a one-sided bilingualism in which one language group has the burden of learning a second language and the other does not. In Belgium the mother tongue imperative was initially a Flemish preoccupation, the concern of the annual Pan-Netherlandish Language and Literary Congresses, which started in 1849 and provided a meeting ground for those who wished to strengthen literary ties between the Netherlands and Flanders. The task at the beginning was the revival of Netherlandish, its philology and orthography, a task which culminated in the completion of the first major Netherlandish dictionary in 1864. This dictionary gave the concept of the mother tongue a point of reference, as did the emergence of a self-conscious literary tradition in the work of such writers as Jan Frans Willems (1793-1846), Hendrik Conscience (1812-1899), Jan van Beers (1821-1888), Guido Gezelles (1830-1899) — writers who gave the language a new creative center from which it could renew itself.

During the latter half of the 19th century, this literary movement gave way to political action, and the Flemish Movement took shape. It is not our purpose to charter its history here[14]. Let us note, however, the legal status of the Flemish language which was its well-spring. The Belgian Constitution (1830) guaranteed freedom in the use of languages: "L'emploi des langues usitées en Belgique est facultatif, il ne peut être réglé que par la loi". (The use of languages is optional in Belgium; it can be regulated only by the law. — Article 23). On November 16, 1830, however, the "Gouvernement provisoire" had already made a basic decision: namely, that official texts of laws would be published in French because the dialects of Flemish and German differed so notably from district to district that no standard dialect existed. The official language of the new nation was French.

By the middle of the 19th century, the Flemish Movement was ready to challenge the status of French, but it was not until 1867 that a law requiring judges in the Flemish region to know Netherlandish reached the Belgian Parliament for debate. It was rejected, but a compromise in 1873 made it legal for a Fleming to use Netherlandish before a tribunal in Flemish territory; whereas before that proceedings took place in French. It was not until 1878 that notices and communications for state services began to be translated into Netherlandish (in Flanders), or at least to be bilingual. The first railroad timetable in Netherlandish did not appear until 1879. The first bilingual coins appeared in 1886. It was not until 1892, however, that Netherlandish was declared an official language of a Belgium in which the majority of the population had always been Flemish, not until 1898 that the "loi d'égalité" respecting the equivalent use of the two languages in legal texts was passed, and not until 1900 that the first discourse in Netherlandish was delivered on the floor of the Belgian Senate by a Senator Mertens. The reaction of his colleague Senator Dupont on this occasion gives some indication of the relative status of the two languages: "On nous avait promis que jamais on ne parlerait flamand au Sénat. C'est une assemblée où la courtoisie a toujours régné"[45]. The Flemish Movement still had a long way to go.

The Mother Tongue Mystique

By the beginning of the 20th century a battle over the status of the Flemish people and their language was well on its way to becoming the primary issue of Belgian national life. That it did come to dominate all other issues by mid-century is testimony not only to the increasing power of Flemings no longer content to occupy a subordinate position in a society in which Francophones held the major positions of power and prestige. It is testimony also to the power of a singular mystique[46]. In one sense this mystique is a lineal descendant of that shift in sensibility sometimes labeled the Romantic Movement, with its glorification of the individual and of the particularities of individual experience, including linguistic experience, that geave rise to such phenomena as the dialect poems of Robert Burns, or to a sensibility like that of William Blake which seeks "to see the world in a grain of sand". But it is also a continuation of the retrenchment that began in the Renaissance of Latin as the vehicle for intellectual life, a counterpart to the belated admission of the literature of modern languages to the curriculum of universities in the 19th century.

On the political level, this mystique is a component of nationalism, a blurring of the distinction between the self-determination of a "people" and the definition of a nation, an assertion of the essential equality of languages, and a refutation of the idea that a bilingual bridge to a "grande langue de civilisation" is a prerequisite for culture. Such a mystique is far from unique, for it is equally applicable to Quebec, Brittany, Scotland, or the Basque Provinces of Spain; but we cannot understand modern Belgium without reference to it. "Het voornaamste kenmerk van een volk is zijne taal" (the primary characteristic of a people is its language)[47], states a 19th century Flemish Nationalist slogan. "La culture est presque toujours la langue", states the Final Report of the Harmel Center[48], the compilation of research on which the 1963 Language Law in Belgium was based. But *language* in this context is not just any language. It is the mother tongue.

Nor within Belgium is such a concept unique to Flemings, although nurtured by them. It was also appropriated by Walloons, by Jules Destrée, for example, who made the point in his famous letter to the King (1912) that a mother tongue awakens long forgotten memories of childhood and even of unknown ancesters who have left their imprint on its structure, that the questions posed by its usage cannot be solved by intelligence alone because a mother tongue relates to our deepest unconscious. In other words, an individual can know only one language in this mystical way, and that language is the mother tongue:

> Une langue est un trésor accumulé au cours des âges par une communauté humaine. Elle y a inclus le souvenir et l'écho de ses moeurs, de ses croyances, de ses douleurs. Elle éveille chez ceux qui la parlent des impressions confuses qui remontent aux jours incertains de l'enfance balbutiant sur les genoux maternels, et plus loin encore, des correspondances avec les ancêtres immémoriaux. Il y a du mystère dans l'attachement à la langue, parce qu'il tient moins à notre être raisonneur qu'à notre inconscient profond. Et ce n'est que lorsqu'on conçoit ainsi le problème, qu'on pense a ses millions de racines ténues qui s'enfoncent dans le passé le plus reculé, que l'on comprend le caractère sacré d'une langue, et combien sont délicates et insolubles par les seuls procédés de l'intelligence, les questions que son usage soulève[49].

The concepts central to the mother tongue mystique are basic metaphysical assumptions about the source of identity, about the locus of reality, about the meaning of freedom. A recent Flemish publication summarizes the major points in this way:

> A language is not only a means of communication but also a force which creates ideas and feelings both for individuals and communities ... Language is the mirror of the personality ... Through language our personality assimilates its environment, and language enables us to store up our experiences, not only in vague images but also in exact terms and concrete notions. From a means of communication, the language grows into a creative spiritual force ... Language lends the culture of a people its identity and its form ... One cannot think of establishing a democratic community without having a language by which all groups in the community can communicate[50]

The idea that language is the source of identity, the "mirror of personality", asserts the interconnectedness between language and self-awareness. It implies that the first words used to formulate the query, "Who am I? " give form to the answer, so that there is a substantive difference between those who respond, "Je suis moi-même", and those who say, "Ik ben ik". The particular words with which "language enables us to store up our experiences" form the adult. Adults formed by the same words are linked by a "creative spiritual force" to others who share the mother tongue. Culture, language, and community, therefore, are interwoven; for "language lends the culture of a people its identity and its form". To know the mother tongue is to know the language of culture.

The idea that language is the locus of reality assumes that individual perceptions are shaped by the available linguistic patterns. Words may be, as Ralph Waldo Emerson asserts in "Nature", signs of natural facts, but it is the particular words of the mother tongue, the "exact terms and concrete notions", that make these natural facts real. Children, therefore, learn faster and with less difficulty when they are taught in the language which gives shape and meaning to their world, the mother tongue. To "know", a child must be able to draw on the store of experience, the "exact terms and concrete notions" that he or she has heretofore used in assimilating the environment: a complex interaction between naming an object or concept and responding to the name itself. If, therefore, a word associated with an object or an experience cannot be used, the everyday experience of a child denied the right to use the mother tongue in school, then the child literally *does not know.* As a practical consequence, the student who cannot perceive a teacher's intended meaning may well end up with an inability even to "know" him- or her- self. As a Unesco publication, *The Use of the Vernacular Languages in Education* (1953), stated:

> It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium[51].

For those who accept this argument — and it has been widely accepted throughout the modern world — the right to an education in the mother tongue becomes a fundamental freedom and a basic human right. In Belgium the assertion of this right is the area where politics and metaphysics have merged since the end of the 19th century.

Mother Tongue Ambiguities

In Belgium, however, the mother tongue mystique is not without its internal inconsistencies. For one thing, there is the problem of dialect. Even when the language of the school is the mother tongue, it may not be the same language spoken by the child's mother at home — as generations of schoolmasters have testified. Alexis Sluys recognized the problem in 1862:

> ... car dans la région flamande et dans la région wallonne, et même à Bruxelles, les instituteurs ont à lutter contre le patois local de la majorité de leurs élèves. Dans la plupart du pays, le peuple continue à parler des dialectes ou des patois plus ou moins éloignés de la langue nationale de culture[52].

The schools in modern Belgium continue where Sluys left off.

The strong influence of France has mitigated the dialect issue for Francophones, although a small group still use Walloon; and Belgian French, despite recent self-conscious attempts to revive the Walloon theater and recent books and articles on the need to preserve "belgicismes", has been for centuries tempered by the standards of Paris. The language of Flemings, on the other hand, has had a more complicated struggle. Flemish Nationalists, still smarting over the decision of the 1830 Provisional Government to use French as the official language of the newly independent Belgian nation because of a lack of uniformity among Flemish dialects, considered acceptance of standard Dutch to be the vital center of their movement. But acceptance of the language of the Netherlands, a nation considered by many to be the seat of religious heresy, has not been easy. A plan put forward in 1870 suggested that German rather than Dutch be the written language, leaving Flemish a spoken vernacular[53]. Others sought to promote one of the many mutually incomprehensible Flemish dialects as an alternative to Dutch. A 19th century West Flanders Movement promoted its own dialect. Even so, the majority of Flemings were indifferent to the idea of standardizing their language. In the early years of the 20th century, Flemish students at the University of Louvain, then a French-language institution, still gathered in cafés that catered to their own local dialect group; but they used French for communication with Flemings who spoke a different dialect and for intellectual matters[54].

Dutch is now the language of Flemish intellectuals and of the schools, but the schools still face a big task. Younger Belgians hear Dutch from early childhood on the radio and TV, but there are still members of an older generation who encountered standard Dutch for the first time when they learned it in school as a second language, their mother tongue being a discreet Flemish dialect[55]; and there are still intellectuals who question whether imitation of Hollanders is the best way of stabilizing their mother tongue[56]. To compound the problem, scholars continued to designate *Flemish* as the language of northern Belgium until well into the 20th century. Antoine Meillet viewed Flemish and Dutch as separate languages in *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (1928), as did Stanley Rundle as recently as 1946 in *Languages as a Social and Political Factor in Europe*[57]. Even the Flemish Cultural Council has shown reluctance to change old customs, for it did not substitute *Netherlandish* for the *Flemish* in its title until 1972. Nevertheless, the use of Dutch as the language of the schools has made an impact in Brussels where there is now only memory of such dialects as Bargoensch and Marollien, the speech associated with the Marolles district said to have died out during World War II. Nevertheless, the *bruxellois* patois is still the speech of a majority of Flemings living in the capital city; and Brabant, the dialect most often used as an example of Flemish in works of fiction, is still alive[58].

Dialect is not the only ambiguity surrounding the concept of *mother tongue* in Belgium. Within the unilingual territories of Flanders and Wallonia, *mother tongue* now has no legal meaning at all; for the regional language takes precedence — Dutch in Flanders, French in Wallonia — even over the language of minorities living there. In the past it was Flemings who had difficulty ensuring a mother tongue education for their children. Between 1962 and 1966, however, it was a group of Francophone parents living in Flanders who petitioned the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg for a redress of their grievances because they could no longer send their children to French-language schools; and it was the Belgian government, once the bastion of Francophone privilege, that defended the monolithic Flemish regime in the schools of Flanders[59]. In modern Belgium territorial rights supercede the claims of linguistic ethnicity. "Flemings who settle in Wallonia and Walloons who settle in Flanders must be resorbed (sic) by the environment. In this way the personal element is sacrificed for the territorial"[60]. Only in Brussels (and in a few towns on the language line) has *mother tongue* become the basis for determining the language of education. In modern Belgium, therefore, *mother tongue* continues to have a range of ambiguous connotations: standard linguistic norm rather than dialect, regional language rather than minority language — and within the linguistic kaleidoscope of bilingual Brussels, membership in one, but not the other, language community.

Brussels, however, has a dual identity. On the one hand, it is a microcosm for the separatism found in the rest of Belgium. There are separate institutions for Flemings and Walloons: separate orchestras, separate theaters, separate TV channels, separate radio stations, separate schools. But there is tension within these institutions, particularly within the schools of the capital city. The Language Laws of 1932 and 1963 mandated use of the mother tongue or usual language as the medium of instruction in its separate but equal schools, and until recently language inspectors visited the schools to execute this mandate, a right they still exercise when dealing with children recently immigrated from Flanders or Wallonia or who live in communities on the periphery of the city. But there is a paradox here. Unlike schools in Flanders or Wallonia where study of the second national language is no longer required, in the schools of Brussels, Flemings must study French and Walloons Dutch starting in elementary school. The schools of Brussels, in other words, must educate for bilingualism even though between 1932 and 1971 they were not allowed a legal pattern of bilingual education[61]. "Le bilinguisme dans l'enseignement doit être condamné", states the Final Report of the Harmel Center, a compendium of the wisdom of the era that became the basis for the Language Law of 1963[62]. Since the partial restoration of *liberté du père de famille* in 1971, parents residing in Brussels are free once again to choose the language of education for their children; but the schools themselves continue to be separate: one regime using Dutch as the language of instruction, the other using French. Schools continue to be a major agency for the fostering of linguistic ethnicity.

There is, however, another Brussels, a city where librarians at the Bibliothèque Royale greet visitors in French but speak Dutch with one another, a city where more French than Dutch is heard on the street, a city where Flemings still actively seek assimilation in Francophone culture. Zealots in both language groups still demand separatism, but their demands are at odds with the wishes of many Brussels citizens and with the reality of the historic language shift from Dutch, or a dialect of Dutch, to French, which still continues. Those who would use the schools of Brussels to continue a centuries-old tradition of linguistic integration have not conceded yet.

Notes

[1] Antoine Meillet et L. Tesnière, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (Paris: Payot, 1928), p. 217.

[2] Joshua A. Fishman, *Language in Sociocultural Change* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1972), p. 154. Fishman is actually discussing bilingualism with diglossia.

[3] H.H. Stern, *Report on Bilingual Education*, Study E7 (Québec: Ministère des Communications, 1974), p. 32.

[4] Stanley Lieberson, *Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1970), p. 10.

[5] See, for example, William F. Mackey, *Bilingualism as a World Problem* (Montréal: Harvest House, 1967).

[6] Veroboj Vildomec, *Multilingualism* (Leyden: A.W. Sythoff, 1963), p. 119.

[7] Antoine Meillet et A. Sauvageot, "Le bilinguisme des hommes cultivés", Conférence de l'Institut de Linguistique (Paris, 1934), pp. 5-14. Meillet, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle*, pp. 294, 355.

[8] For a recent statement of this Belgian commonplace see Hugo Bustamante, Maurits van Overbeke, and Albert Verdoodt, "Bilingual Education in Belgium", *Case Studies in Bilingual Education*, Bernard Spolsky, Robert L. Cooper eds. (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1978), p. 20.

[9] The critical historical question appears to be whether a bilingual zone existed up to the Loire or whether there was a frontier marking the limit of Frank colonization. The interpretation I have adopted is argued by J. Dhondt, "Essai sur l'origine de la frontière linguistique", *L'Antiquité classique* 16, no 2 (1947): 261-281. The seminal study of the language line is still the most important: Godefroid Kurth, *La frontière linguistique en Belgique et dans le nord de la France* 2 vols. (Bruxelles: Société Belge de Librairie, 1896-1898). A useful collection of excerpts is found in François Olyff, *La question des langues en Belgique. Etude historique à la recherche d'une solution saine et définitive* (Hassalt: Les Editions du Moulin, 1940-1944). See also, H. Draye, *De studie van de Vlaamsch-Waalsche Taalgrenslijn in Belgie* (Brussel: Standaard-Boekhandel, 1942); Jean Stengers, *La formation de la frontière linguistique en Belgique ou de la légitimité de l'hypothèse historique* (Bruxelles-Berchem: Latomus, 1959); Marius Valkhoff, *L'Expansion du néerlandais*, trad. Jules Sepulchre (Bruxelles: Les Editions Lumière, 1944).

[10] Actually four language areas exist in Belgium today: the French-language zone, the Dutch-language zone, the bilingual zone of Brussels, and the German-language zone in the eastern part of the province of Liège (less than 1% of the total population). The German zone is outside the scope of this inquiry. The interested reader is directed to Clemens Amelunxen, "The History of the German-speaking Minority Group in Belgium", *Plural Societies* (Winter 1971), 39-46; Albert Verdoodt, *Zweisprachige Nachvarn. Die deutschen Hochsprachund Mundartgruppen in Ost-Belgien, dem Elsass, Ost-Lothringen und Luxemourg* (Wien: Braumüller, Universitäts-Verlagbuchhandlung, 1968).

[11] Alexandre Henne et Alphone Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles: Perichon, 1845), 2:597. Also Kurth, *La frontière linguistique*, 2:22; Louis Verniers, *Un millenaire d'histoire de Bruxelles depuis les origines jusqu'en 1830* (Bruxelles: Editions De Boeck, 1965), p. 15.

[12] Quoted in Maurice des Ombiaux, *Psychologie d'une capitale, Bruxelles* (Bruxelles: Librairie Moderne, 1920), p. 138.

[13] The description of the languages of Brussels is derived from Hugo Baetens-Beardsmore, *Le français régional de Bruxelles*, Institut de Phonétique. Conférence et Travaux, vol. 3 (Bruxelles: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles, 1971).

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-49, *et seq.*: 434.

[15] Willem Pée, "Het Algemeen Nederlands in Vlaanderen", *Taal en Dialekt*, (Amsterdam: N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1970), pp. 20-21. See also, Bustamante *et al.*, "Bilingual Education in Belgium", p. 14. "It is generally felt in Belgium that the relatively high number of persons frequently using both languages corrupts, contaminates, or at least impoverishes speech itself."

[16] See J. Hanse *et al.*, *Nouvelle chasse aux Belgicismes* (Bruxelles: Charles Plisnier, 1974); Leopold Courouble, *La famille Kaekebroek* (Bruxelles: Paul Lacomblez, 1910), a novel about the speech habits of Flemish social climbers. See also, Gustave Cohen, "Le parler belge", *Rapport présenté au Congrès pour l'extension et la culture de la langue française.* (Liège, 10-13 septembre 1905), reprinted in *Skandinavisk Manadsrevry*, no. 9 (April 1906): 163-168. Cohen states, "Les belges ne parlent pas 'flamand en français' ... mais que très souvent ils ont garde à travers les révolutions successives de la langue le patrimoinoine de la bonne vieille langue française", p. 168. (Belgians do not speak 'Flemish in French' ... but have very often preserved the legacy of the correct ancient French tongue through successive revolutions.) This translation and all subsequent translations are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

[17] Jules Destrée, *Wallons et Flamands* (Paris: Plon-Nourit, 1923), pp. 126-127. (It is at Brussels that the wonderful theory of essential bilingualism has taken birth. Belgium is a bilingual country, thus all Belgians ought to be bilinguals ... This theory is idiotic.)

[18] Jean Lemaire de Belges, *La Concorde des deux languages*, Jean Frappier, ed. (Paris: Librairie Croz, 1947), p. 5. Lemaire is seeking "la paix et union perpétuelle entre les dictes nations et langues" (peace and perpetual union between these nations and languages).

[19] Ludovico Guicciardini, *Belgique 1567*, Paul Ciselet et Marie Delcourt, eds. (Bruxelles: Office de Publicité, 1943), p. 30. (There are almost an infinite number who, in addition to their mother tongue, also know, without ever having been outside the country, how to speak several languages, principally French, with which they are very familiar, and several more remote languages.)

[20] Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, 7 vols. (Bruxelles: M. Lamertin, 1922-1932), 1: xi.

[21] Henri Pirenne, *La Belgique et la guerre mondiale* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), p. 43. (To be a Belgian was a way of being a European, for Belgium was a microcosm of Europe.)

[22] Guicciardini, *Belgique*, p. 30.

[23] Pirenne, *Histoire*, 7:384. (As far back as one goes in the history of Belgium, it was impossible to discover the slightest suspicion of a conflict between Flemings and Walloons.)

[24] *Ibid.*, 1:335.

[25] *Ibid.*, 5:324. (It seemed monstrous and grotesque to combat in Brussels a language which all the princes, all the courtesans, all the diplomats of Germany took pride in speaking and which is scarcely less in honor around Maria Theresa than around Frederick II.)

[26] *Ibid.*, 7:271.

[27] *Ibid.*, 7:279. (With the emergence of industry and free trade, the development of business has made the need all the more intense for the one language which it uses: French.)

[28] Kurth, *Frontière linguistique*, 2:5. (In general, the barbarian knows two languages, whereas the civilised person possesses only one. ... A phenomenon strange in appearance and, nevertheless, easy to understand if one thinks about it. In each encounter, it is the people who know two languages who will end up one day by not speaking their own.)

[29] *Ibid*., 2:18, 26.

[30] *Ibid*., 2:31. (One will not then exaggerate in concluding from all these facts that since the 13th century French was like a second mother tongue in Flanders, or, if one prefers, a second national language more prestigious than the first and which was considered the actual language of good society and of cultivated people.)

[31] *Ibid*., 2:52. (In a word, French is considered the language that includes everyone. In this function it is used whenever it is a question of matters which concern the entire nation.)

[32] C.A.J. Armstrong, "The Language Question in the Low Countries: The Use of French and Dutch by the Dukes of Burgundy and Their Administration", *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, J.R. Hale *et al*, eds. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), pp. 407-408; Le Baron de Reiffenberg, "De la langue française Belgique, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle", Foreword, Philippe de Mouskés, *Chronique rimée*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1836), 1:ccxxv.

[33] J.B.C. Verlooy, *Verhandeling op d'onacht der moederlyke tael in de Nederlanden* (Antwerpen: De Sikkel, 1938 [1788]), pp. 25-26. ("Maer de Nederduytsche tael is hier wel anders mishandelt by ons, en voor al in Brussel: zy is in deze stad niet alleen veronachtzaemt, maer ook veracht... daer zyn-er die vermeyd zyn vlaems te spreken in gezelschap oft op de straet: andere, die 't alwillens kwalyk spreken om in 't frans te schynen opgebragt te zyn: ... Nooit is onze tael eenig aendagt verleent van 't hooggezag ... Onze schryfwys is nog niet gevestigt, ende en heeft nog die beschaving wegens een openbare hand, die de fransche geproeft heeft, niet ondergaen ... Onze tael is gebannen uyt de toneelen: zy moet achterstaen in d'aenzinelykste raden: het meeste van onze liedjens, om niet te zeggen all, bynaer alle onze nieuwsbladeren en andere dagelyksheden van de pers, zyn frans: en 't zyn de Fransche alleen die daer van d'eer en 't nut bekomen.") Translation adapted from Shepard B. Clough, *A History of the Flemish Movement in Belgium: A Study in Nationalism* (New York: Octogan Books, 1968, pp. 17-18.

[34] A. van de Perre, *The Language Question in Belgium* (London: Grant Richards, 1919).

[35] Dirk Wilmars, *De psychologie van het Franstalige in Vlaanderen: De achtergrond van de taalstrijd* (Antwerpen: Standaard Uitgeverij, 1968), pp. 9, 84.

[36] Pieter Geyl, *From Ranke to Toynbee: Five Lectures on Historians and Historiological Problems*, Smith College Studies in History, vol. 39 (Northhampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1952), pp. 44-45.

[37] Pieter Geyl, *Debates With Historians* (London: B.T. Barsford, 1955), p. 183.

[38] *Ibid*., pp. 190-191.

[39] Charles Baudelaire, *Pauvre Belgique*, Jacques Crépit et Claude Pichois, éds. (Paris: Jacques Lambert, 1953), p. 76. (They don't know French, *no one* knows it, but everyone *pretends* not to know Flemish. This is good taste. The proof that they know it very well is that they scold servants in Flemish.)

[40] *Ibid*., p. 196. (One segment can go to Prussia, the Flemish to Holland, and the Walloon provinces to France. — A great misfortune for us.)

[41] *Ibid*., p. 141. (There are no Belgian people properly speaking. There are the Flemish and Walloon races, and there are the rival cities.)

[42] Jules Destrée, *La lettre au Roi sur la séparation de la Wallonie et de la Flandre* (Gembloux: Wallonie libre, 1968 [1912]), p. 16. (You reign over two peoples. There are in Belgian Flemings and Walloons. There are no Belgians.)

[43] *Ibid*., p. 17.

[44] The best study of the Flemish Movement in English is Shepard B. Clough, *A History of the Flemish Movement, A Study in Nationalism* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968 [1930]). See also, H.J. Elias, *Vijfentwintig Jaar Vlaamse Beweging, 1914-1939*, 4 vols. (Antwerpen: Der Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1969); Leo Picard, *Geschiedenis van de*

Vlaamsche en Groot-Nederlandsche Beweging. 2 vols. (Antwerpen: De Sikkel, 1942-1959); Arie Wolter Willemsen, *Het Vlaams-Nationalisme, 1914-1940* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1958).

[45] Robert G. Vandekerckhove, *L'admission progressive de la langue néerlandaise dans les textes officiels en Belgique* (Bruxelles: UGA, 1969) pp. 7-15. The quotation is on page 15. (We were promised that Flemish would never be spoken in the Senate. This is an assembly where courtesy has always reigned.)

[46] See, for example, René Gillouin, *De l'Alsace à la Flandre: Le mysticisme linguistique* (Paris: Editions Prométhée, 1930); H. Temmerman, *De Moedertaal eenig doelmatig voertuig der gedachte in opvoeding en onderwijs* (Gent: Siffer, 1898).

[47] Temmerman, *De Moedertaal*, p. 5.

[48] Centre de recherche pour la solution nationale des problèmes sociaux, politiques, et juridiques en régions wallonnes et flamandes [Harmel Centre], no 32. (ca. 1950), p. 1. Xeroxed typescript. (Culture is almost always language.)

[49] Destrée, *Lettre au Roi*, p. 16. (A language is a treasure accumulated throughout the ages by a human community. It includes the memory and the echo of customs, of beliefs, of sorrows. It awakens in those who speak it confused impressions which go back to uncertain days of infancy babbling on one's mother's knees, and even further back, correspondencies with ancestors unknown. There is a mystery in the attachment to language, because it pertains less to our reason than to our deepest unconscious. And it is only when one conceives the problem in this way, when one thinks of the millions of delicate roots intertwined in the far distant past that one understands the sacred character of language and how delicate and unsolvable by the mere processes of intelligence are the questions that its usage raises.)

[50] Maurits van Haegendoren, *The Flemish Movement in Belgium*, translator unknown (Antwerp: Flemish Cultural Council, 1965), p. 34.

[51] *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education* (Paris: Unesco, 1953), p. 11.

[52] Alexis Sluys, *Mémoires d'un pédagogue* (Bruxelles: Editions de la Ligue de l'Enseignement, 1939), p. 68. (For in the Flemish region and in the Walloon region and even in Brussels, educators have to struggle against the local patois of the majority of their students. In most of the country people continue to speak dialects or patois more or less distant from the national language of culture.)

[53] Pirenne, *Histoire*, 7:279-280.

[54] Fernand Daumont, *Le Mouvement Flamand*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles: Société Belge de Librairie, 191[illegible]), 1:69-72.

[55] A librarian at the Bibliothèque Royale recounted his linguistic adventures to the author during the summer of 1976. Now in his fifties, he is a native of East Flanders where he learned the local dialect as a mother tongue. This dialect he still uses for communication with his mother, who is unilingual. As a schoolboy, however, he learned standard Dutch — his second language — as well as French, German and English.

[56] See, for example, S.S.H.M. Boe en, "De Nederlandse Taal in Vlaanderen", *Taal of Taaltje*, Guido Geerts, ed. (Leuven: Acco, 1972), p. 129; J. Leenen en R. Clayes, "De Nederlanse Taal in Vlaanderen", *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[57] Stanley Rundle, *Language as a Social and Political Factor in Europe*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1946).

[58] Baetens-Beardsmore, *Le français régional*, pp. 46-58.

[59] European Court of Human Rights, Case *Relating to Certain Aspects of the Laws on the Use of Languages in Belgium*, 2 vols. (Strasbourg: Registry of the Court, Council of Europe, 1967-1968).

[60] Quoted in Robert Senelle, "The Revision of the Constitution, 1967-1971", *Memo From Belgium*, 144-146 (Brussels: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, External Trade, and Cooperation in Development, 1972), p. 12.

[61] See Chapter II for a discussion of the range of meanings implied by "bilingual education".

[62] Centre de recherche, no 326, p. 6. (Bilingualism in education must be condemned.)

CHAPTER II

POLARITY AND PARADOX IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The Limits of Ethnicity

On the 23rd of April, 1968, two language inspectors, one representing the Netherlandish Ministry of Belgian Education, the other the French-language Ministry, interrogated four-year-old Luc de Coster in a classroom of the Brussels French-language nursery school in which he was enrolled[1]. The child, intimidated by this unexpected excess of adult solicitude, remained stolidly silent while the adults introduced subjects that might interest him: toys, food, dogs, "tour à tour en français et en flamand", according to the report of the French-language inspector. Luc's brief response, when it finally came, was first in Dutch; then, after prodding from the French-language inspector, he spoke a few words of French — a performance which elicited contradictory appraisals of his linguistic orientation from the two adults. The French-language inspector reported difficulty in determining the dominant language of this bilingual child who answered questions as easily in French as in Dutch; but he recommended that Luc be allowed to continue his education in Francophone schools because French was the language regularly used by Luc's mother, the only parent in the home, a Francophone Fleming who used only French in her job as a librarian. The Dutch-language inspector, on the other hand, pointed out in his report that Luc had shown only minimal proficiency in French, answering merely "oui" or "non" to questions in that language. "An answer such as that is always fifty percent correct but is in no case proof of language dominance, and even less proof of an existing mother tongue"[2]. In his judgment there was no basis for accepting French as the mother tongue of a child born in Flemish Brabant who had lived only two years in Brussels. Young Luc should attend Netherlandish schools, a judgment with which the Language Commission, a legal board which adjudicated such disputes between language inspectors, concurred. In August of 1968 it ruled that this bilingual child of Flemish birth and parentage must attend schools where the language of instruction was Dutch, his legal mother tongue.

The assignment of young Luc to a school that would reinforce his ***legal*** linguistic and ethnic identity rather than to the Francophone school favored by his mother is a stark example of the strength of the centrifugal forces at work in modern Belgium. We should beware, however, of thinking such forces unique. The centrifugal tendencies in Belgium have produced more fragmentation than that found in some Western societies, but the difference is more apparent than real. Luc's case could be juxtaposed with other hairbreadth legal distinctions found in other countries, including the United States. The Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) with its fussy concern with the degree of racial intermixture of Americans subject to the laws and customs governing segregation by race is certainly comparable[3]. The values guiding the disposition of Luc's case can even be juxtaposed with the decision of federal agencies in the United States to require documentation of the ethnic and linguistic identity of students in schools receiving federal funds or — in the wake of the *Lau v. Nichols* landmark decision in 1974 — the requirement, never fully implemented, that schools provide instruction in the mother tongues of their students[4]. "Today the advocates of the New Pluralism argue that ethnicity is destiny", state Howard F. Stein and Robert F. Hill in a recent issue of the *American Scholar*[5]. Separatists in Quebec, Spain, Scotland, Brittany, or elsewhere would certainly agree.

Nor has language been the only centrifugal issue in Belgium. Until the ***Pacte Scolaire*** of 1958 guaranteed subsidy of private, primarily Catholic, elementary and secondary schools, the conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and proponents of state education was almost as divisive[6]. But the church-state battle in education, a battle found in most western European countries in the 19th and early 20th centuries, as bitter as it was, did not lead to a fundamental reorganisation of the Belgian state. The language controversy, on the other hand, led directly to the rejection of an essentially Francophone nation-state and the emergence in its place of a federation of linguistic communities, as we will see in subsequent chapters. In modern Belgium, as in modern Canada and elsewhere, language is the matrix that contains and the crucible that sears.

In later chapters we will focus on the legal, social, and human rights issues that are a byproduct of this crucible. Let us begin, however, by recognizing that the centrifugal values that led to the linguistic segregation of Luc in a school which enrolled Flemings but not Walloons and used Dutch but not French as the language of instruction are the mirror image of values that for centuries appeared basic in Belgian life. These earlier centripetal values and the tradition of linguistic integration which exemplified them are the thesis; the centrifugal forces of linguistic segregation its antithesis. We cannot understand the synthesis that is struggling to be born without recognition of this fact.

The paradox of Luc and of others like him is the degree to which they exemplify both thesis and antithesis. The older centripetal tradition had already led to the linguistic integration of Luc in a Francophone school by the time he came to the attention of the language inspectorate. It had already produced a child who, although not highly verbal in either French or Dutch, was functionally bilingual at the age of four. In the centrifugal world of 1968, however, the law required the linguistic segregation of children such as Luc in schools of their own ethnic and language community, schools in which there would be no "bilingualism in education", to use the words of the Final Report of the Harmel Center[7]. But the law — even before the partial restoration in 1971 of the right of parents to select the language of education for their children — could not forbid bilingualism in the education of children such as Luc. Luc would carry his bilingualism with him wherever he went to school because the language of instruction, whether French or Dutch, would differ from one of the languages already internalized by him.

An exploration of linguistic segregation in the schools of Brussels must start, therefore, with an understanding of the integrative tradition with which it is intertwined. We have already encountered this tradition in the discussion in chapter one of Belgium's dichotomous legacy of benevolent bilingualism and linguistic imperialism. In this chapter and in the chapter that follows, we turn to the impact of this legacy on the schools: in this chapter, to the meaning that "bilingualism in education" may have had for the 20th century language planners who repudiated it; in the chapter that follows, to the patterns of bilingual education that had evolved in the schools of Brussels before the emergence of separatism — recognizing that thereafter linguistic integration and linguistic segregation were mirror images of one another and often intertwined.

The Bilingual Identity

In a country such as Belgium there is no simple referent for the word *bilingual.* It could refer to German-speaking Belgians in the Province of Liège, most of whom use French as a second language, or to immigrant workers, primarily of Italian, Spanish, or Greek origin, who must acquire one of Belgium's national languages in order to function on a job — a complicated sociolinguistic picture in its own right[8]. It could even refer to the international business community in Brussels who use English as a *lingua franca*[9], or to the complex linguistic interactions of the Common Market community. *Bilingual* is even loosely used to describe Belgians who know three or more languages and are in fact multilingual. The

Belgian language controversy, however, has arisen from interaction between the French- and Dutch- speaking communities; and it is the bilingual patterns in the education of these groups that have been of central concern. Many Belgians, and many residents of Belgium, know languages other than French, Dutch, or one of their dialects; but this fact is not germane to the language controversy.

What is germane is the negative connotation that the word *bilingual* has come to have in a country where knowledge of two national languages is essential. A bilingual may, of course, be a person who can use two languages with equal or near equal fluency, retaining at the same time identity with the linguistic community of his or her mother tongue. But a bilingual may also be a person barely able to read, write, or speak a second language[10]. Even "unilingual" Francophones who retain only a smattering of the Dutch learned in school may have a shaky foothold at one end of this spectrum, along with bilingual Flemings not fully proficient in either language such as Luc.

Luc, in fact, personified a pattern of bilingualism long suspect. A four year old who lived both in the Flemish world of Flanders and in the mixed linguistic world of Brussels where his mother insisted on speaking French, Luc had the *precocious bilingualism* of a child exposed to two languages early in life and the *integrated bilingualism* of a child used to hearing two languages refer to the same object[11]. The image of a bilingual as someone whose linguistic skills are hampered by the acquisition of a second language in early childhood before meanings are firmly anchored in the mother tongue, someone whose cognitive functions are inhibited when one language interferes with the other, is also part of the legacy of linguistic integration in Brussels — and has been for some time, as Jules Destrée pointed out in 1912 when he condemned the "agglomérat des métis"[12].

The formation of this negative bilingual identity is not necessarily the result of formal education. The streets of Brussels and many of the homes that line them have functioned as informal bilingual schools for centuries: perhaps from as early as the 5th century A.D. when the Franks dislodged a Gallo-Roman population from its settlement on the Senne, certainly since 1321 when the founding of "de Waelsche plaets" signaled the beginning of Walloon migration to this *Dietsch* city[13]. Since the Renaissance, however, the impact of this informal tradition of oral bilingualism has been stronger among Flemings who have had to adapt to the francisation of the capital city, than among Walloons; and it has been especially strong among those members of the population who, until the advent of mass education, might not have attended formal schools at all. It is still alive today in the almost universal bilingualism of preschoolers such as Luc, a potent tradition not readily accessible to the political action of language planners, who can control the curriculum of formal schools but not the language of the street.

To the extent that he was a product of this informal tradition of oral bilingualism, Luc belonged more to a community of bilinguals than to one or the other of the language groups; and it is the viability of this bilingual community, not knowledge of a second language *per se*, that has been the target of language planners in modern Belgium. In a different linguistic milieu, schools might attempt to reinforce both languages so that a student could become a balanced bilingual, but not in the world of Luc and his language inspectors. In this world, *either* Dutch *or* French was assumed to be the basis for ordering experience and for finding identity, but not *both*. Dutch and French represented polarities.

A commentator on the celebrated precocious bilingualism of Hildegard Leopold[14] has pointed out that Hildegard formed the habit early in life of focussing on the idea expressed rather than on particular words: "Constantly having the same thing referred to by different words from the two languages, she had her attention drawn to essentials, to content instead of form"[15]. Luc's language inspectors looked for no such Platonic unity. For these language inspectors, content could not be dissociated from the particular words that expressed it because both were derived from the language in which they were based. Each of the inspectors attempted to discover Luc's dominant language, each claiming it to be his own, and for good reason. They started with the assumption that Luc had to have a dominant language in order to validate experience, in order to have a basis for his perception of reality, in order to have a unified world view. Even more important, he needed a dominant language in order to affiliate with the language group from which he would derive his identity.

Like Henri Pirenne, for whom bilingualism — for Flemings at any rate — was the basis for a national identity, some Belgians have continued to assert that Flemings and Walloons share a common heritage and a similar world view. "The structuralization of human experience among FS [French speakers] is essentially the same as that of DS [Dutch speakers]", states a recent article on the languages of Belgium[16]. But even this apparent rejection of the Whorfian thesis does not really suggest that the reality base for Dutch and French is the same — only that some values and traditions are common to both Flemings and Walloons. For many Belgians, however, the existence of these similarities is not as significant as the differences imbedded in the structure of the two languages, as we shall see when we examine the polemics of the language controversy in subsequent chapters. For them the word *bilingual* connotes inability to find a basis for reality rather than reconciliation of the Flemish and Walloon world view, cognitive and metaphysical displacement rather than intellectual attainment. At best it connotes divided loyalty and divisions within the personality like those of the Japanese-Americans studied by Susan Ervin-Tripp, a group who could not easily reconcile the disparate referents for social roles and moral values found in Japanese and English[17]. At worst it connotes no basis for identity at all.

Complementary, Replacive, and Supplementary Bilingualism

As Heinz Kloss and other modern sociolinguists have noted, one of the language communities in a bilingual country is likely to show more inclination to learn a second language than is the other[18], a group Godefroid Kurth identified in the 19th century as "bilingual savages", and Antoine Meillet a half century later as "hommes cultivés". By 1929 Flemings in Belgium had assumed this role for so long and so often that when Frans van Kalken published an article entitled "Vers le bilinguisme", in which he tried to defend the linguistic *status quo* in Belgium, he started with the assumption that the very word *bilingualism* connoted Flemish acquisition of French, not Walloon attempts to learn Flemish. Flemings, according to van Kalken, instinctively recognize "l'importance primordiale" of the French language and wish to see their children beneficiaries "d'un régime à signification mondiale", whereas Walloons have no reason to learn Dutch[19].

J.E. Verheyen made a similar observation when he pointed out to the International Conference on Bilingualism in Luxembourg in 1928 that a majority of Belgians were not bilingual at all — only 13% of the total population, disproportionately represented in Brussels where at the time of this conference, 41% of all residents and 84% of Flemish residents were bilingual[20]. Belgium was a bilingual country because more than one language group lived within it, not because all Belgians were bilingual:

> La Belgique n'est pas un pays bilingue au sens propre du mot, c.-à-d., que les deux langues nationales (français, neerlandais) n'y sont pas partout plus ou moins mélangées; en réalité, le peuple belge, appartenant à deux familles ethnographiques nettement distinctes (les wallons au Sud à la famille latine, les flamands au Nord à la famille teutonne), est monoglotte: le bilinguisme réel n'existe que dans l'agglomération bruxelloise et dans quelques villages de la zone étroite placée à cheval sur la limite des langues[21].

To gain historical perspective on patterns of bilingualism in Belgium, therefore, is primarily to explore patterns of bilingualism exemplified by Flemings.

Einar Haugen makes a distinction between three patterns of bilingualism: ***supplementary bilingualism***, the use of a second language on an occasional basis outside of a normal routine; ***complementary bilingualism***, habitual use of a second language for clearly defined functions; ***replacive bilingualism***, substitution of a second language for one's mother tongue[22]. In the past the bilingual traditions of Flemings exemplified the latter two categories.

The most common bilingual pattern in Flanders was shaped by Flemings who used French for public life while reserving Flemish for intragroup contact and for the home, a complementary demarcation of linguistic function which reflected a class structure. French was the language of government, of the courts, of business, of the universities, of secondary schools. Flemish, the majority language, belonged to the common people. A unilingual Fleming was doomed to membership in the proletariat: "Wanneer men alleen Vlaams sprak, kon men slechts een handarbeider zijn". (Whenever someone spoke just Flemish, he could be only a worker.[23]) A bilingual Fleming, on the other hand, could hope to join the Francophone power elite. As Arthur Curtis has pointed out[24], this bilingualism with *diglossia*[25] — to use another sociolinguistic term which connotes differentiation of linguistic function — existed for centuries in Flanders. But the bilingual Fleming paid a price: the perpetuation of a class structure based on language usage.

A second linguistic pattern has coexisted with widespread complementary bilingualism, especially in Brussels, a mecca for ambitious Flemings, many of whom viewed their assimilation into its Francophone world a small price for social and economic advancement. The process usually took more than one generation, during which time older members of a family would continue to use the mother tongue, whereas younger members would not. Jean Francis, a second generation Francophone of Flemish origin, the first member of his family to make a living with the pen instead of on the farm, has described this process in his own life:

> Naturellement, mon père et ma mère, parlant français, en plus du flamand; considérant cela comme une promotion, voulurent me donner l'instruction dans cette langue sans laquelle, socialement, rien n'était possible ... Mon père m'aurait jamais adressé un mot en flamand, ignorait cette langue dans tous les rapports sociaux et ne la réservait qu'aux conversations avec les grands-parents

Similar patterns of replacive bilingualism existed in the large cities of the United States during the early years of the 20th century. In Belgium Brussels has been the melting pot.

The intermixture of these complementary and replacive bilingual patterns is part of the warp and woof of Belgian life. It is even woven into the superplot of its literature. Georges Simenon, for example, whose Belgian mother spoke a patois of Flemish and German, which he never learned, and a French, which was his mother tongue[27] weaves a pattern of complementary and replacive bilingualisms into his novel, ***La maison du canal*** (1932). The heroine Edmée, who had lived all her life in Brussels, is sent to live with her Flemish relatives after the death of her parents. She is met at the railroad station of the small town in Flanders which is to be her new home by her cousin Jeff, who immediately ascertains her linguistic competencies:

> [Jeff] "Est-ce que vous parlez flamand? "
> [Edmée] "Non."
> [Jeff] "C'est dommage ... parce que ma mère et mes deux plus jeunes soeurs ne connaissent pas le français"[28].

There are in this novel two sets of unilinguals: Jeff's mother and sisters, who know only Flemish, and Edmée, who knows only French. For the mother and sisters unilingualism represents cultural deprivation. Jeff, his brothers and father, all live in a larger world which uses French for business and for social relations, reserving Flemish for home and family. For Edmée, however, unilingualism is evidence of the social standing of her family and of the upward mobility of her father, a Fleming who migrated to Brussels from Flanders and who enrolled his daughter in a Francophone school. When the novel opens Edmée's language shift has already taken place.

A central theme in the language controversy is not so much the necessity for bilingualism, although there is some ambivalence about its value, especially in Walloon circles, and considerable resistance to learning Dutch among some Walloons[29]. The issue is the kind of bilingualism to support. Complementary bilingualism connotes a linguistic hierarchy in which French is the superior language and a social framework in which only those who know French may be in control. Replacive bilingualism connotes the gradual extinction of a Flemish identity group. The goal, therefore, is the democratization of linguistic function; for if Dutch could have parity with French in public, intellectual, and social life, Flemings would have less reason to wish to exchange their mother tongue for French. In such a society the need for bilingualism would be *supplementary*, reserved for occasional contact with members of the other language group but not integral to daily life except for a few people in key jobs where the languages are in contact. The goal of language planning, therefore, would be to ensure the orientation of individuals to their mother tongue *before* acquisition of a second language.

Schools are not the only institution to which language planners have turned in order to ensure education for mother tongue dominance, but schools are the primary agency. The schools of Belgium, therefore, have assumed a much more complicated role than just the transmission of the content of a civilization, its literary documents, its history, its technology, its social institutions. Belgian schools also transmit the form of this content by designating one of two possible linguistic vehicles.

A Paradox of Bilingual Education

The Concept of a Language of Education

As E. Glyn Lewis has pointed out, the intermingling of languages in contact is the *paideia* that has made civilization possible:

> In a very vital sense our concept of education, the *paideia* which with all its faults has promoted the advancement not of the Western world alone, derives largely from this complex pattern of languages in contact. One language might be in contact with several others simultaneously, so that it is difficult to identify a period of history when important cultural consequences did not derive from such a matrix of intertwined languages over vast territories[30].

It is, however, powerful institutions such as schools which have had the largest role in determining which language in this intertwined matrix will survive:

> If there is one thing we learn from a historical study of languages in contact, it is that the languages which appear to contribute most and survive longest, those which constitute the *adstratum* rather than the *substratum*, are usually supported by powerful institutions; royal households serving an educational function, and specialized higher institutions like those to which the legal professions were attached are among the most influential[31].

The emergence of a dominant language may reflect social, political, economic, and cultural factors that go beyond the schools; but once the selection is made, it is schools which are the primary agency for its implementation.

A consequence of this selection process is the necessity for bilingualism among those whose mother tongue is *not* the status language, and for a bilingual curriculum in the schools where they enroll. In the past the very word *education* connoted such a curriculum, for medieval and renaissance schools throughout Western Europe used Latin as a medium of instruction for students whose mother tongue was a vernacular reserved for familial and everyday conversation. In an era of mass education, however, this elite curriculum may be less readily accepted — particularly when the status language is a vernacular which is mother tongue to some but not all members of a school population — the case in many "bilingual" schools.

The Bilingual School: A Definition

Let us digress for a moment to clarify the term we have just used. For as William Mackey has pointed out, there are many patterns of bilingual education but no archetype for a bilingual school[32]. A bilingual school may offer a dual medium curriculum, the curriculum usually connoted by the concept, ***bilingual education***; but it may also offer a unilingual curriculum such as that of the Latin schools, where the mother tongue of *all* students differs from the medium of instruction, or the Francophone schools of Belgium, where the mother tongue of *some* students has differed from the language of the classroom. For our purposes, a bilingual school is any school which employs a non-mother tongue for the teaching of subjects other than modern languages, even for only part of the school day[33]. There is a paradox inherent in bilingual education, however. At one end of the spectrum, a bilingual school may attempt to produce a balanced bilingual by devoting equal time to the use of the languages of instruction. At the other end of the spectrum, it may make only transitional use of a minority language, or no use at all. A bilingual education — as we are using this term — does not necessarily educate for bilingualism.

This paradox requires some amplification, which we may elucidate by use of a counter-example, the schools of the Netherlands. If one judges by the end product, one might presuppose a bi- or multi- lingual education system there. Yet the schools of the Netherlands do not, by and large, fall within the parameters of bilingualism in education. Except for the autochthonous population of Friesland whose mother tongue belongs to a different family of languages from Dutch, except for a small group of immigrants from Southeast Asia and for a few others, the language of the school is the language of the home, the community, the major institutions such as churches, the media, and the national governement[34]. Training for bi- or multi- lingualism is reinforced by the proximity of many language groups in the neighboring countries and by the pragmatic necessity for communication with them, but only in rare instances does contact between students from language groups other than Dutch take place *inside* the schools. The schools of the Netherlands are not "bilingual schools", yet their graduates are among the great linguists of the world.

Bilingual Education and Language Shift

In contrast, let us consider two educational patterns in a multilingual society not usually recognized as the locus of bilingual education, the United States of America in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1837 Calvin E. Stowe urged the Ohio Legislature to adopt a pattern of instruction in the schools frequented by foreigners:

> The children of foreign immigrants are now very numerous among us, and it is essential that they receive a good English education ... It is necessary, therefore, that there be some preparatory schools in which instruction shall be communicated both in English and in their native tongue. The English is, and must be, the language of this country, and the highest interests of our state demand it of the Legislature to require that the English

> language be thoroughly taught in every school which they patronize. Still, the exigencies of the case make it necessary that there should be some schools expressly fitted to the condition of our foreign immigrants, to introduce them to a knowledge of our language and institutions[35].

There is no ambiguity about Stowe's intent. The goal was an English language education for all children in Ohio, including the children of immigrants who spoke German at home. There is no ambiguity about the means he chose to achieve this goal: the transitional use of German in the classroom by bilingual teachers. Nor is there ambiguity about the long range goal for a society in which "English is, and must be, the language". Children instructed by these bilingual teachers would come to use English for almost every public function outside the home, but they would be educated for the differentiated linguistic functions of the subordinate language. This bilingualism with diglossia might continue for several generations, although this was clearly not Stowe's intent. A more likely outcome was that which we will examine in the next chapter when we trace the evolution of similar curriculum patterns in Brussels: the education of a first generation for complementary bilingualism and of subsequent generations for language shift.

Let us turn to another, more clearcut, example of bilingual education for unilingualism, this one comparable to the educational pattern adopted by Flemings who enrolled their children in Francophone schools, the pattern selected by the mother of Luc for his nursery school placement. The following statement appears in a pamphlet entitled *Americanization in Philadelphia* which was published in 1923:

> A knowledge of English is the first essential step towards Americanization ... In the homes of the foreign-born, a knowledge of English is essential to the preservation of family unity. The children are taught English in the schools and then refuse to speak any language but English in the home. The parents feel they are losing their parental authority. For this reason, if no other, the English language must be gotten to the parents; this is the only solution to this phase of the problem[36].

This degree of zealousness is unusual even for the United States during the era when a melting pot ethos dominated, for its goal is to go beyond control of the language of the classroom to control of the speech patterns of the home. Nevertheless, this zealousness is of the same stamp as that of the Belgian government in the early years after independence — as we shall see in the next chapter. The Belgian government, both national and communal, no less than the American educators we have quoted, wished to see a subculture assimilated with the dominant language group. And the subculture itself frequently viewed assimilation as in its own best interest.

Paradoxically, this assimilationist pattern of education might also be compared to the pattern of education available to young Luc in the Dutch- language schools of Brussels. English-language schools in Philadelphia in the early 20th century and Dutch language schools in Brussels at present have set out to accomplish a similar goal: the socialization of students for a communal life that would reinforce their particular language. Both school systems have used a language of instruction that differed from the language of the home — although in Luc's case the language *should* have been the same, whereas in Philadelphia the plan was to *make* them the same. Both used a unilingual curriculum. Yet the Philadelphia schools educated students for language shift and for eventual unilingualism, whereas the Brussels schools educate for language maintenance — and in the modern language classroom for a particular pattern of supplementary bilingualism. Philadelphia schools of that era fall within our parameters of "bilingualism in education", whereas the Brussels schools do not intentionally do so. Small wonder the case of young Luc presents so many paradoxes.

Notes

[1] Dossier 5/68/CP. This case and other cases referred to throughout this study are located in the Bestuur Gemeenschappelijke Diensten voor Nationale Opvoeding en Nederlandse Cultuur.

[2] "Een dergelijk antwoord is steeds 50% juist, maar is in geen geval een bewijs van taalbeheersing en nog minder een bewijs van de bestaande moedertaal."

[3] Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

[4] Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974). For a discussion of the impact of the Lau Case on School District II in Colorado, see Elaine Yaffe, "Colorado Spring Wrestles With Lau: A Case Study in Federal Intervention", *Phi Delta Kappan* 60, no. 1 (September 1978): 51-55.

[5] Howard F. Stein and Robert F. Hill, "The Limits of Ethnicity", *The American Scholar* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1977): 181.

[6] Vernon Mallinson focusses on this conflict throughout *Power and Politics in Belgian Education 1815-1961* (London: Heinemann, 1963). See also Desiré La Malle, *La guerre scolaire d'autrefois* (Liège: Les Editions des Victoires, 1955); Jacques Lepetit, *Ecoles libres et écoles officielles* (Bruxelles: Frameries, 1925); Pierre Verhaegen, *La lutte scolaire en Belgique* (Gand: A. Siffer, 1905).

[7] Centre de recherche pour la solution nationale des problèmes sociaux, politiques, et juridiques en régions wallonnes et flamandes [Harmel Center], no 326, p. 6.

[8] See "Le Pluralinguisme", *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie* (Bruxelles) 43 (1970): 91-190; Albert Verdoodt, "Les problèmes linguistiques des travailleurs migrants adultes et les problèmes sociolinguistiques des travailleurs migrants scolarisés dans le pays d'accueil", Etude commanditée par le Conseil de l'Europe sous la cote CCC/ESR (1973).

[9] During her residence in Brussels in 1970-71, the author encountered Flemish lawyers whose business letters to lawyers in Amsterdam were always written in English.

[10] A useful discussion of the range of bilingual competencies is found in John Macnamara, "The Bilingual's Linguistic Performance: A Psychological Overview", *Journal of Social Issues*, 23, no. 2 (1967): 58-77.

[11] See Hugo Bustamante, "Le Bilinguisme en Belgique. Effets de la seconde langue sur la langue maternelle" (Ph.D. dissertation, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1973).

[12] Jules Destrée, *La lettre au Roi sur la séparation de la Wallonie et de la Flandre* (Gembloux: Wallonie libre, 1968 [1912]), p. 17.

[13] See Louis Verniers, *Un millenaire d'histoire de Bruxelles depuis les origines jusqu'en 1830* (Bruxelles: Editions de Boeck, 1965), pp. 16-25 ff. for references to the early history of Brussels.

[14] Werner Leopold, *Speech Development of a Bilingual Child* (New York: AMS Press, 1949).

[15] Els Oksaar, "Bilingualism", *Current Trends in Linguistics* vol. 9: *Linguistics in Western Europe*, Thomas A. Sebeok, ed. (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1972), p. 497.

[16] Hugo Bustamente, Maurits van Overbeke, Albert Verdoodt, "Bilingual Education in Belgium", *Case Studies in Bilingual Education* Bernard Spolsky and Robert L. Cooper, eds. (Rowley, Mass: Newbury House, 1978), p. 15.

[17] Susan Ervin-Tripp, *Language Acquisition and Communicative Choice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), pp. 58 ff.

[18] Heinz Kloss, "Types of Multilingual Communities: A Discussion of Ten Variables", *Sociological Inquiry* 35, no. 2 (Spring 1966): 135-145. See also, Fr. Closset, *Didactique des langues vivantes* (Bruxelles: M. Didier, 1949), p. 70.

[19] Frans van Kalken, "Pour le bilinguisme", *Le Flambeau*, 12e Année, no 9 (septembre 1929): 113-117.

[20] These figures are given by Verheyen, but are also available in *Annuaire Statistique de La Belgique et du Congo Belge*, Tome LX (Gand: Vanderpoorten, 1938), pp. xxii-xxiii.

[21] J.E. Verheyen, "Le bilinguisme en Belgique", *Le Bilinguisme et l'éducation, travaux de la conférence internationale tenue à Luxembourg du 2 au 5 avril 1928.* (Geneva: Bureau International d'Education, 1929), p. 137. (Belgium is not a bilingual country in the proper sense of the word, that is to say, the two national languages, [French, Netherlandish] are not intermixed everywhere; in reality, the Belgian people, belonging to two ethnographic families which are clearly distinct, are unilingual: real bilingualism exists only in the agglomeration of Brussels and in some villages in the area near the language line.)

[22] Einar Haugen, *The Ecology of Language* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1972, pp. 310-311.

[23] Dirk Wilmars, *De psychologie van de Franstalige in Vlaanderen. De achtergrond van de taalstrijd* (Antwerpen: Standaard Uitgeverij, 1968), p. 54.

[24] Arthur Edward Curtis, "New Perspectives on the History of the Language Problem in Belgium" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1971).

[25] For a discussion of diglossia, see Charles A. Ferguson, "Diglossia", WORD, vol. 15 (1959): 325-340; Joshua Fishman, "Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia: Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism", *Journal of Social Issues*, 23 (1967): 29-38.

[26] Jean Francis, *Lettre ouverte à trois millions cent quatre-vingt mille cent dix-huit Wallons* (Bruxelles: Musin, 1974), pp. 27-29. (Naturally, my father and mother, speaking French more than Flemish, considering that as a promotion, wanted to give me instruction in that language without which socially nothing is possible ... My father would never speak a word to me in Flemish, would not know that language in all his social dealings, and used it only in conversations with the grandparents.)

[27] Georges Simenon, *Letter to My Mother*, tr. Ralph Manheim (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1974), p. 16.

[28] Simenon, *La Maison du canal* (Paris: Fayard, 1932), p. 10.

(Jeff: Do you speak Flemish?
Edmée: No.
Jeff: That's too bad ... because my mother and two younger sisters do not know French.)

[29] See André Wautier, *La question linguistique en Belgique*, Institut Jules Destrée (Nalinnes-Lez Charleroi: Edition I.J.D., 1966), for example. The argument here is that bilingualism is a *Flemish* problem, that Flanders is a bilingual area but not Wallonia.

[30] E. Glyn Lewis, "Bilingualism and Bilingual Education — The Ancient World to the Renaissance", *Frontiers of Bilingual Education* Bernard Spolsky and Robert L. Cooper, eds. (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1977), p. 87. For a discussion of this subject by a Belgian, see Armand Boileau, "Le problème du bilinguisme et la théorie des substrats", *Revue des langues vivantes*, XII (1946): 113-125, 169-193, 213-234.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[32] William F. Mackey, "A Typology of Bilingual Education", *Foreign Language Annals*, 3 (May 1970): 598-608.

[33] This definition is preferred by Bustamante, *et al*, "Bilingual Education in Belgium".

[34] In the Renaissance there were French-language schools, however. See E.J. Riemens, *Esquisse historique de l'enseignement du français en Hollande XVIe au XIXe siècle* (Leyde: A.W. Sijthoff, 1919).

[35] Calvin E. Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Instruction in Europe", made to the General Assembly of Ohio, December 1837, in Edgar Wallace Knight, ed., *Reports on European Education by John Griscom, Victor Cousin, and Calvin E. Stowe* (New York: McGraw Hill 1930), pp. 314-315.

[36] *Americanization in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Chamber of Commerce, 1923), p. 23.

CHAPTER III

PATTERNS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN BRUSSELS BEFORE 1932

Introduction

To understand the language structure of modern Belgium, we must begin with recognition that Brussels is not only the largest, wealthiest city in the nation, the seat of national government and of international organizations, the major cultural and economic center of Belgium, but also (along with a few towns on the language line) the only official French-Netherlandish bilingual zone, a bilingual island in Flemish territory, a pivot balancing the unilingual Dutch- and French- language regions, and the site of an extraordinary experiment in linguistic separatism — albeit an experiment that has not wholly worked. North of the language line all of Belgium save Brussels is now unilingual Dutch-language territory. Cities such as Antwerp are now centers of Flemish culture. Universities such as Ghent and Louvain, once Francophone bastions, are now Flemish universities. Elementary and secondary schools throughout the region use Dutch — not French — as the language of instruction[1]. Acrimony, and in some instances bloodshed, have accompanied this transformation, but it has nevertheless taken place — except in Brussels, the capital city where Flemings and Walloons live side by side and two separate networks of schools, one using Dutch as the language of instruction, the other using French, exist side by side also.

Brussels has a special status in Belgium which makes it unique, and it is tempting to assume the existence of this status since its earliest days. We must, however, beware of projecting the present onto the past. Brussels is now the most important city in Belgium, but its earlier history is the history of a Flemish village, and not the most important village in Flanders by any means. Before the closing of the Scheldt River in 1648, Brussels was not as important a commercial center as Antwerp[2]; throughout most of its existence, not as important an intellectual center as Louvain. During the regency of Margaret of Austria (1507-1530), it was not even the capital city[3]. Brussels is now a unique bilingual zone; but between the arrival of the Burgundian Court in 1430 and the emergence of separatism in the 20th century, Brussels was one of many cities in the Flemish region where French and Flemish were in daily contact, one of many cities where Flemings spoke French "comme langue maternelle" — as Guicciardini noted in 1567[4]. From the time of Maria Theresa, the Francophone schools of Brussels have exerted a singular magnatism for Flemings, but until the mid-20th century schools in cities throughout Flanders also offered one pattern or another of French-language education, and they were sanctioned by law as well as by custom. If in the mid-20th century Flanders has gradually emerged as a unilingual Dutch-language zone, leaving Brussels and a few towns on the language-line the only remaining French-Dutch bilingual region, the fact remains that Brussels once shared its bilingual status, and its schools their bilingual curricular patterns, with cities throughout the Flemish region.

Three patterns of bilingual education evolved in these Flemish cities: the first, an elite model which equated learning with the acquisition of a status language — Latin, later French — and with development of bilingualism with diglossia; the second, an assimilationist model which reflected instrumental use of schools by a ruling class who wished to impose a dominant language; the third, a dual medium model which seemed to promise balanced bilingualism but was widely viewed by Flemish Nationalists as a one-way road to Francophone unilingualism. All three of these patterns of education coexisted in 1932 — and continued to coexist even when proscribed by the new language laws — a legacy not yet ready to die.

The Elite Model

Education as Language Acquisiton

The Latin School Model

The most venerable pattern of bilingual education in the schools of Brussels in 1932, and still the most pervasive, was derived from the elite pattern of the medieval and renaissance Latin schools, a legacy of the Roman Empire which had been reestablished by the Carolingians. The equation of education with language acquisition and with the intellectual content of the Greco-Roman world was, of course, a part of the heritage of all Western Europe, not indigenous to Belgium or to Brussels, whose first recorded Latin school dates only from 1047 A.D. when the Cathedral School of St. Gudule was founded[5]. But in Brussels as in the rest of Western Europe this was the dominant pattern of education in the prestigious schools such as those founded by the Church of the Sablon in 1486, by the Brothers of the Common Life in 1511, or by the Church of Notre Dame de la Chapelle in 1550. By the middle of the 16th century, it was a pattern shared even by one secondary and six elementary municipal Latin schools[6]. These schools provided initiation for membership in an elite[7]; for in them students, whose mother tongue was usually *Dietsch*, learned to read, write, and speak the universal language of civilization — and in so doing entered the only avenue available for a career in the Church, the only avenue to centers of humanist learning such as the *Collegium Trilingue* at the University of Louvain where Erasmas, Barlandus, and Lipsius once taught[8], the only avenue to any institution of higher education. Latin schools provided the archetypal pattern of language acquisition as preparation for special privilege, a pattern that survived long after French became the language of secondary schools and universities.

The Private Tutor

Latin was not the only language of privilege in the medieval and renaissance world. Even before the arrival of the Burgundians in Brussels in 1430, a Brabantine nobility, influenced perhaps by the dissemination of French during the Crusades, perhaps by hope of advancement for their sons in French courts, began to cultivate the French language[9]. According to Adenès Li Roi, a poet attached to the Court of Henri III of Brabant, early training for vernacular bilingualism became an established custom among this feudal nobility as early as the 12th century, but this training took place in the home under the direction of a French tutor:

> Avoit une coutume ens el Tiois pays
> Que tout le grand seignor, li conte et li marquis
> Avoient entour aus gent françoise tousdis
> Pour aprendre françois lor filles et lor fils[10].

This ubiquitous tutor remained a member of the household of Brabantine nobles for centuries. He is even alluded to by the Protestant politician, educator, and Councilor to the Prince of Orange, Phillippe de Marnix de St. Aldegonde (1540-1598), who urged conscientious parents to employ a tutor of linguistic background different from that of the family so that a child could be reared in "deux langues de génie opposé" before entering Latin school[11], a tutor who for members of Marnix's ethnic group would logically be

French. Education in a status vernacular is almost as old as the Latin school tradition, and in its early stages just as elite.

By the time of Marnix, however, there was as much reason for members of the bourgeoisie to seek an education in a status vernacular as for members of the nobility to do so, particularly after the arrival of the Burgundian Court in Brussels in 1430. The Burgundians practiced a reciprocal bilingualism. They used French at Court, but understood *Dietsch*, had *Dietsch* books in their libraries, and saw to it that ordinances were published in this language[12]. They stimulated, in other words, the need for a similar reciprocity among Flemings who aspired to become court functionaries in an era when French was already the language of international commerce. The assumption that knowledge of French could open the door for middle class Flemings hoping for a career in government still exists today.

The Vernacular School

There were already vernacular schools when the Burgundians arrived, the so-called "little schools" founded by Jean III of Brabant in 1358 for poor children. But these were intended to be schools where students studied their own vernacular instead of Latin, "Scholen, waar men geen Latijn, maar Duytsch ... leerde"[13] (schools where one learned *Dietsch* rather than Latin). By the middle of the 16th century, however, as Caroline Bourland has pointed out in her analysis of the curriculum of Dietsch schools in Antwerp[14], "little schools" no longer limited themselves to instruction in the mother tongue. In an era when French was rapidly becoming the language of commerce and government, there were in all the large cities of the Low Countries "diverses Escoles, esquelles on enseigne la langue Françoise"[15] (diverse schools in which French was taught). Most of them were run by Flemings such as Peeter Heyns of Antwerp or Jean Berthout of Brussels, who was described as both "School-meester tot Brussele" and "maistre d'escole à Bruxelles" on the title page of his book of bilingual colloquies[16]. Indeed, judging by the number of bilingual textbooks published in the 15th and 16th centuries, education for vernacular bilingualism had become a profitable enterprise for schoolmaster and publisher alike[17].

In these schools where Flemish schoolmasters set out to teach "la langue Françoise & toute autre honnesté" to Flemings[18] the goal was not to replace the mother tongue with French:

> Vous enfants desireux d'apprendre & Marier
> Le langage François, & le Flamand cymbrique ...
> Et joignant le Practique avec la Theorique,
> Parler double langage ...[19]

So wrote Christopher Plantin of the Lauwerbaum, the school run by Peeter Heyns in Antwerp. The goal in this era of linguistic pluralism was to learn "double langage". The goal was a balanced bilingualism.

Even in the 16th century there were harbingers of the changes that were to come — if only because, then as later, there were more Flemings who had pragmatic reason to learn French than Francophones who needed to learn Flemish. But more than this, by the middle of the 16th century, the Court no longer attempted to protect the Flemish language. Charles V, preferred to use French in the Low Countries but had learned Netherlandish in childhood from a royal tutor, Adrien Florissen Boeyens of Utrecht; his son, Philip II, knew no Netherlandish at all[20]. For him and for the Spanish and Austrian rulers who followed, French was the language of government. Even the salary scale for teachers reflected this subtle hierarchy. By 1598 teachers were charging twice as high a fee for teaching French as for teaching Flemish[21]. A balanced bilingualism did not connote linguistic balance.

The Status Vernacular in the Latin School

The emergence of this linguistic hierarchy would have a profound impact on the Latin school curriculum, but the first challenge to the hegemony of Latin as the language of learning came not from a competing status language but from the lowly mother tongue, a language which for the majority of Belgians, then as now, was Flemish. This challenge had both a religious and a pedagogical component — religious, because use of the vernacular rather than Latin was a major Reformation goal; pedagogical, because metaphysical questions about the Latinate base of reality were also epistemological questions about the basis for knowing. The religious component should not be overemphasized; nevertheless, there were Protestant influences on schools in Belgium in the years preceding the Counter-Reformation[22]. Schools run by the Brothers of the Common Life, for example, including one in Brussels that became a Calvinist center from 1580 to 1583, made a practice of studying scriptures in the mother tongue[23]. We may surmise that this custom was fairly widespread and that it connoted a view of the mother tongue that was uncomfortably close to that of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anabaptists, all of whom had attempted to establish themselves in the Low Countries — widespread enough, at any rate, and threatening enough to religious authorities, to be proscribed by the Synod of Mons in 1586[24].

Pedagogical arguments for use of the mother tongue in the Latin school were based on the premise that students learned better and faster when they were not denied this important tool. In the 16th century, however, such arguments were not presented as a challenge to the Latinate base for humanist learning. The mother tongue was a pedagogical tool, not a rival to Latin. Phillippe de Marnix de St. Aldegonde, for example, an educator and politician who was, incidentally, a Protestant, argued that only the mother tongue could be the basis for perception, that exclusive use of Latin led to the formation of pedants erudite in a narrow way but ignorant of their own world[25]. However, Marnix' most radical suggestion — that students practice translating *from* Latin to the vernacular — was based on the argument that such an exercise would enhance their understanding of *Latin*[26]. For Marnix and for others like him, including the Jesuit and Augustinian educators of the 17th century, the mother tongue had pragmatic value; but none of them could have anticipated that its use in the Latin school would pave the way for the emergence of a status vernacular — not necessarily the mother tongue — that would take over the function of Latin as the language of civilization.

It was not until the 18th century that French became clearly entrenched in the curriculum of the Latin school, and not until the 19th century that it became the language of learning in Belgian universities. Meanwhile, both French and Flemish found their way into the curriculum of the Jesuit and Augustinian schools which had inherited the mantle of the medieval and renaissance Latin schools in the early 17th century[27]. Perhaps such schools ran no risk of accusations of Protestantism. Perhaps they hoped to attract a wider clientele by combining features found both in the vernacular and in the Latin schools of an earlier age. Whatever the reason, there is record of the production of student plays in Flemish in the 17th century Jesuit schools and of the use of Flemish textbooks for the study of Latin and French[28], a usage which implies that French already coexisted with Latin as a target language. When the Spanish era ended in 1713, an era when no official attention was paid to the Flemish language while French flourished as the language of government, of high society, and of intellectuals, use of Flemish in the schools had been sharply curtailed[29]. By 1788 when J.B.C. Verlooy, the lawyer whom many view as the father of the Flemish Movement, penned his famous complaint about the lack of opportunity for Flemings to pursue a mother tongue education in the schools of Brussels[30], French had come to coexist with Latin in the exclusive secondary schools, the equal, in practice if not in theory, of the language of civilization.

By then Latin was in decline, but the Latin school tradition of education in a prestige language inherited from the medieval and renaissance world was very much alive. It was still alive in 1932 among Flemings who freely enrolled in Francophone schools because a French-language education offered opportunity for social and intellectual advancement. It was alive after 1932, despite the legislation of its demise, and it is still alive today, especially since the partial restoration of the right of parents to select the language of education for their children. A bilingual country does not easily relinguish the premise that education is synonymous with language acquisition, particularly when it believes that social and economic advantage will accompany realization of this goal.

The Assimilationist Model

The Instrumental Use of Language by a Foreign Ruler

In the late 18th century another pattern of bilingual education had begun to evolve in Belgium when, under several foreign rulers, language became a focus for political and ideological identity and schools a tool for gaining political hegemony. Before this era rulers did not *impose* a language. Students freely chose to enroll in schools where the medium of instruction differed from the language of home and community, but the government did not direct them to do so. Between the late 18th and early 19th centuries, a series of foreign rulers demonstrated that language could become an instrument for the extension of political power. Language has been intertwined with politics ever since.

The Austrians

The interconnection of language and politics was barely discernible under Austrian rule (1713-1792) when the primary concern was to restore and renew an educational framework sadly neglected by the Spanish. Maria Theresa's Royal Commission of Education, which drew up plans for replacing Jesuit schools closed in 1775 during the suppression of the Order of Jesus[31], had recommended that the mother tongue be the language of education and that all students, Walloons as well as Flemings, study the ancient Thiois language, neglected in the rest of Europe but necessary for the reading of ancient documents[32]. That Flemish was reduced to a subsidiary role and French enhanced as virtually equal in importance to Latin in the secondary schools is an outcome more related to the power struggle between the Francophone Church hierarchy and Maria Theresa over who was to control the schools than it was the intent of the ruling monarch[33]. That the struggle took place at all, however, is a measure of the extent to which language had already become a part of power politics — albeit in this case, a power contest between the monarch and the traditional guardian of education, the Church.

Nevertheless, there was little conscious concern over the relationship between language and politics during the Austrian era. Even J.B.C. Verlooy did not view neglect of Flemish as a political matter. An ardent Republican and a member of a revolutionary society, *Pro Aris et Focis*, that advocated the annexation of Belgium by France[34], Verlooy gave no evidence of viewing pro-French proclivities as inconsistent with devotion to Netherlandish — and perhaps from his vantage point he had no reason to. Yet it was the French, whose regime he welcomed, who used their language as an instrument of power and the schools as a political weapon.

The French

During the brief time that they controlled Belgium (1792-1815), the French demonstrated the interconnection between political hegemony and the linguistic assimilation of a subject people. If they did not fully succeed, if Flemish was still used by schoolteachers in country districts of Flanders and by Flemings in Brussels who refused to send their children to schools which taught the Rights of Man in place of the Catechism, they nevertheless demonstrated that schools could be made servants of the state. If there were those who resisted the concept that schools should be a primary vehicle for teaching love of republican institutions (only 300 children enrolled in the municipal schools of Brussels in 1801 despite compulsory attendance laws)[35], these policies still had an impact, particularly on Flemings who sought an education beyond elementary level. French was the official language of secondary schools, of schools where Latin and French were taught[36], the official language of such schools as the *Ecole Centrale*, the school that had replaced the *Collège Thérésien de Bruxelles*, and of *Le Lycée* the school that replaced it under Napoleon; and it was the official language of the *Académie Impériale de Bruxelles*, the most important center of higher learning in the Empire. Rapid francisation of a large portion of the Flemish middle class took place during this era[37], a generation that would come to power in the early years of Belgian independence and would demonstrate its acceptance of the concept that the linguistic assimilation of a minority group is within control of the state.

The Dutch

Dutch rule (1815-1830) brought an abrupt reversal of the enforced francisation of the population, but a continuation of the instrumental use of language and of the schools. William of the Netherlands also viewed education, political rule, and language as intertwined; but he met with less success in his attempt to impose the Dutch language on the government of Belgium and on its schools than had the French in their imposition of a language that was already established in government, in high society, and in the academies. Neither Walloons nor Francophone Flemings newly assimilated under French rule were ready to view Dutch as a fit language for the education of their children, even in the model schools which William hoped would bring as enlightened a system of education to Belgium as existed in the Netherlands. Many schools such as the Monitorial School and the Communal School at Terarken in Brussels continued to run parallel French sections[38]. And secondary schools such as the former *Ecole Centrale*, now a model Royal School, refused to treat Flemish as equal in importance to Latin and continued to use French as the language of instruction[39]. A number of wealthy Francophone families, moreover, circumvented William's policies by sending their sons to French-language schools outside of Belgium such as the Jesuit Collège at Amiens, a practice which the Dutch government tried to discourage by questioning the validity of the diplomas received there[40].

Another issue underlay resistance to the language policies of this Protestant monarch, his infringement on a domain widely regarded by the Roman Catholic Church as its own. The Church did not object when William opened a normal school at Lierre which would train future teachers in the Dutch language, or when he attached teacher training sections to state elementary schools. But the Church did object to the royal decree requiring proficiency in Dutch of teachers in *all* schools after 1822, including Catholic schools. The Catholic hierarchy had already stopped William from reopening (and thus controlling) the Catholic University of Louvain, which had been closed by the French in 1797, and it had watched with considerable concern William's creation of two state universities at Ghent and Liège[41]. This hierarchy was no more willing to share its traditional control of education with the Dutch than to share it with French revolutionists, and William's attempt to control the certification of teachers for *its* schools politicized the issue. By 1830 the Church was as ready to cheer the overthrow of William's rule of Belgium as were the anti-clerical liberal Francophones who engineered the Belgian Revolution, an unlikely alliance that, according to Vernon Mallinson, thrust scholastic issues into the forefront of Belgian politics for all time[42].

Nevertheless, William's policies left a lasting imprint, particularly on urban Flemings who had encountered the Dutch language in school for the first time during this period. For

48

this particular group, education in the Dutch language was the first opportunity to recognize the relationship between a language of learning and their native Flemish or Brabantine dialect. For them, use of Dutch as the language of the school meant restoration of a linguistic heritage lost since the 16th century. These forerunners of the Flemish Movement did not immediately influence the language policies of the new nation, but they paved the way for emergence of Flemish Nationalism in the years ahead[43].

William left a second legacy. A Francophone elite came of age during his regime, a group born and educated under French rule who viewed William's language policies as an infringement on their human rights. The reactive nationalism of this group and its overt francophilia made a major imprint on the institutions of the new nation, particularly on the schools. For when this group set out to reverse Dutch language policies, it did *not* set out to reverse the premise on which the policies were based; namely, that language is the primary instrument for unifying a nation.

The Instrumental Use of Language in the New Nation

A Francophone Identity

The independent Belgium that appeared in 1830 was as much a pawn of the European big powers as it was the creation of a revolutionary cabal intent on throwing off the yoke of Dutch rule. But for the Francophone bourgeoisie who emerged as its leaders, the interrelationship between language and the perquisites of power was central. Even foreign visitors commented on their Francophone leanings. In 1841, for example, R. Emerson Tennent, an English guest in the home of a member of the Belgian Parliament, found a conspicuous display of this French language allegiance:

> The style of everything in M. Grenier's establishment, and of those of the same rank where we had the honor to visit, was essentially French, his family having been educated in Paris, and the conversation was of course in French, although everyone at table seemed to understand English perfectly. Flemish is spoken only by the peasantry and the working classes. The account given of it as a dialect was that "Dutch is bad German, and Flemish is bad Dutch"[44].

French was the language of government, the language of the new nation. The Flemish and German dialects were destined to die away.

Schools were to be a primary vehicle for the realization of this Francophone identity. In theory, the language of education was optional, a freedom guaranteed by Article 23 of the first Belgian Constitution. Before the Constitution was even completed, however, the *Gouvernement provisoire* had made its basic decision about the language of official documents. This language could only be French:

> Considérant d'autre part que les langues flamande et allemande en usage parmi les habitants de certaines localités varient de province à province, et quelquefois de district à district, de sorte qu'il serait impossible de publier un texte officiel des lois et arrêtés en langues flamande et allemande[45].

One of the first actions of the new government, moreover, was curtailment of the special Dutch course instituted in the schools by William of the Netherlands. Hereinafter, schools would use the language best suited to the needs of their students, "la langue qui conviendrait le mieux aux besoins des élèves"[46] (the language that would best serve the needs of the students). Obviously, the language of greatest utility was French.

In the years following independence, this Francophone bias emerged as educational policy. Between 1830 and 1841 a national *concours* still offered a prize for the best secondary school composition in Flemish. After 1841, however, the *concours* rewarded the best composition in the "langue maternelle", and this led to the universal adoption of French for this contest[47]. The Education Act of 1850 did designate that Flemish be taught in the secondary schools of the Flemish section of the country — but only as a second language while French remained the language of instruction. Meanwhile, French had taken over the function previously reserved for Latin as the language of higher education; for according to the Law of 15 July 1848, henceforth in these institutions, "les leçons sont données en langue française"[48]. French, therefore, *had* to be the language of schools that prepared young Belgians for the four Belgian universities: the Catholic University of Louvain, the oldest university in Belgium; the Free University of Brussels, a secular institution founded in 1834 as a foil to Louvain; the two state universities founded by William of the Netherlands, the University of Liège and the University of Ghent. French had to be the language of the secondary schools.

Some elementary schools continued to use Flemish as the language of instruction, particularly in the rural areas of Flanders and in the working class districts of Brussels, schools where students customarily finished their formal education by the age of twelve and often dropped out of school before then. Nevertheless, many schoolmasters in cities north of the language line set out to advance the cause of Francophone education. According to a report of C.J. Nérum, director of a communal school in Ghent at the time of the Belgian Revolution, in 1836 a French-language evening course was inaugurated that proved highly popular with ambitious young Flemings. Thereafter, the Industrial School in Ghent attempted total conversion to French-language instruction. This experiment failed, according to Nérum, because the Flemish artisans who attended this school were "déjà trop agés pour pouvoir entreprendre l'étude d'une langue étrangère" (were already too old to be able to undertake the study of a foreign language)[49]. But it is perhaps indicative of the biases of the era that Nérum nevertheless predicted a future in which elementary schools north of the language line would produce artisans able to profit from French-language instruction even if they had not yet done so.

Francisation of the Schools of Brussels

In a Brussels in which 61% of the population were Flemings[50], the municipal government attempted an even more ambitious program of francisation than had the city of Ghent in the decade following independence, a program which — according to some Flemish witnesses — did not always meet with success. Burgomaster Roupe visited two communal schools in 1831 where he discovered classes conducted entirely in French for Flemish children who did not understand the language of instruction, and he did not hesitate to characterize this curriculum as futile:

> Monsieur l'administrateur, pour ce qui concerne ces deux écoles, que l'instruction, pour être bien comprise par les élèves, ne peut se donner qu'en langue flamande, car le langage de la population indigente est tel[51]".

In a bilingual country beginning to experiment with mass education a French-language education could not serve universal needs.

The Education Act of 1842 addressed itself to this problem by directing that state schools henceforth include in their programs "suivant les besoins des localités, des éléments de la langue française, flamande, et allemande"[52], a directive that should have ensured the inclusion of Flemish in the curriculum of elementary schools in Brussels. The 1842 law notwithstanding, many schools in Brussels continued to have no Flemish instruction at all. A few schools added a Flemish section in the lower grades — but only schools in the southern and western communes of the city, Molenbeek, St. Gilles, Anderlecht, areas of the heaviest immigration of Flemings from Flanders, areas where to some extent Flemish was already the language of the elementary school. Even these limited reforms were short-lived. By the 1860's city authorities had begun a new campaign to ensure the francisation of the Brussels population, and in that decade came the demise of *all* Flemish instruction in such communes as Ixelles and St. Josse, and increased emphasis on French as the language of the upper elementary school elsewhere[53].

Flemish Nationalists, who had emerged as a political force by the 1860's, would later claim that the educational patterns which evolved in the years between 1830 and 1870 represented a high-handed policy of linguistic imperialism on the part of Francophones, a charge partially substantiated by the utterances of public figures who viewed the French-language elementary school as an institution particularly beneficial for Flemings. As Burgomaster Anspach pointed out, it was French which Flemings needed for social and economic advancement, French which Flemish parents chose as the language of education for their children. Only a French-language regime could ensure the future of public education; for unless Flemings could enroll in a French-language school, they would have no incentive to enroll in school at all:

> Notre population ouvrière tient avant tout à ce que, les enfants apprennent la langue française, et le jour où un seul doute s'élèverait sur ce point, une grande partie de nos classes seraient desertées[54].

A Francophone school conferred other benefits according to Anspach, for Flemings who enrolled in such an institution would become bilinguals: they would use French at school and Flemish at home[55]. And bilingualism was a worthy goal — for Flemings.

Francisation and the Flemish Population of Brussels

There were dissenters to this Flemish benefit theory — Charles Buls, for example, founder of the *Ligue de l'Enseignement* in 1864, crusader for public education, and founder of a model school which used both Dutch and French as vehicles for instruction. For as Herman Boon has pointed out, the realities of 19th century life in Brussels did not substantiate Anspach's arguments. Illiteracy was high among Flemings, many of whom left school after three or four years knowing neither the language of the school nor the language of the home well[56]; and concerned educators tended to blame this sorry state of affairs on the fact that French-language schools failed to teach Flemings to read except in a mechanical way and did not teach them literacy in their mother tongue at all:

> Primary education in Brussels takes place in French despite the fact that the majority of students are Flemish ... Many can automatically read French, but do not understand the sense of what they read; they speak Flemish without being able to read it[57].

Francophone schools, in other words, denied Flemings an opportunity to gain the basic skills needed for literacy — and in so doing deprived them of a reality base, a charge not unlike that lodged by Marnix three centuries earlier against the exclusive use of Latin as the language of the school[58].

Alexis Sluys, a teacher in the Charles Buls school, characterized the attempt to induct Flemish children into bilingualism through a unilingual Francophone regime in the schools he attended as a child as an experience that exasperated teacher and students alike:

> Tout ce programme purement verbal et mécanique était enseigné en français à des élèves, qui à 7 ans ne parlaient que le patois flamand bruxellois; c'était un enseignement réellement abrutissant pour les élèves et pour le maître[59].

Far from conferring a benevolent bilingualism upon the majority of their students, Francophone schools produced students who could barely read:

> [Les éléves] arrivaient dans la classe supérieure parlant peu et mal le français, lisant mécaniquement et sans comprendre. Ils arrivaient à la conscription militaire, à l'âge de vingt ans à peu près illettrés[60].

Conventional wisdom prescribed refinement of this pattern rather than fundamental change. That Alexis Sluys began his career as a teacher in a school where "un cours spécial fut organisé dans toutes les classes"[61] (a special class was organized in all the classes), a school which provided special remedial instruction in the French language for Flemish children who were having academic difficulty, is a measure of the times. Flemings who had difficulty in school needed intensive drill in French.

Even Sluys himself, although completely bilingual, was representative of that group of middle class Flemings who were given a head start in their linguistic training in the home, and therefore had greater probability of succeeding in school. The child of a Francophone mother and a Flemish father who had learned French in evening school, Sluys was reared in a home in which a "correct French" was spoken. That he was bilingual by the age of six was not a reflection of familial aspirations, for he picked up the local Flemish patois "en jouant avec des camarades du voisinage"[62] (playing with his friends in the neighborhood) not in his home. He did spend a few months in a Flemish primary school in the Molenbeek commune of Brussels in which his family lived, but his Flemish father summarily removed him from this lower class environment because of the peasant crudities of his teacher. Thereafter, all of his formal education took place in schools where French was the language of instruction and where Flemings from less privileged backgrounds were experiencing failure[63].

A curious byproduct of this pattern of education is reflected in the census reports. In 1866, 32% of the citizens of Brussels recorded themselves to be bilingual in Flemish and in French. In 1880 this number had declined to 23%. (See Table 1) It is possible that Flemings chose to adopt a Francophone rather than a bilingual identity, for *Francophone* connoted upper class, and *bilingual*, Flemish or lower class origin. Census figures, however, do not bear out this hypothesis for this period in the history of Brussels. Between 1866 and 1880, the percentage of Francophones increased only by 1%; from 17% in 1866 to 18% in 1880. Unilingual Flemings, on the other hand, increased from 51% in 1866 to 59% in 1880. It is

TABLE 1

Unilingual French, Unilingual Flemish
and Bilingual Population of Brussels, 1866 to 1880

Year	Unilingual French		Unilingual Flemish		Bilingual French and Flemish	
	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage
1866	64,164	17%	205,645	51%	111,338	32%
1880	105,346	18%	338,821	59%	130,164	23%

SOURCE: *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique* 33 (Bruxelles: J.B. Stevens, 1903), p. 83. Percentages are derived from the population in the French-Flemish language groups, not from the total population which included a very small group who knew neither language.

possible that the decline in the percentage of bilinguals between 1866 and 1880 reflects an increase in the number of semi-literate Flemish peasants migrating to the city during this period[64]. It is also possible that a moderate increase in the percentage of bilinguals *did* take place, at least in the years between 1846, when 61% of the Brussels population recorded themselves as Flemings, and 1866, when only 51% were so recorded. But this is a matter we can never fully resolve because the 1846 census did not record the number of bilinguals and the 1866 census did.

We *do* find a decline in the number of bilinguals and an increase in the number of unilingual Flemings in the very era when it was public policy to educate Flemings in Francophone schools for eventual assimilation into Francophone culture, the years between 1866 and 1880. And it was the failure of this policy which led educators such as Charles Buls to mount a campaign against this educational pattern, blaming it for the high rate of illiteracy among Flemings and for their failure to join the economic mainstream[65].

The Dual Medium Model

The Emergence of Dual Medium Schools

The dual medium schools that proliferated in Brussels and in other cities throughout the Flemish region during the late 19th and early 20th century were a response to this campaign — and to the growing power of Flemish Nationalists[66]. They did not replace Francophone schools. Secondary schools in Brussels and in the rest of Flanders continued to be dominantly unilingual Francophone; some communal elementary schools never adopted a dual medium regime; and Catholic schools throughout the Flemish region continued to pursue their French-language curricular patterns. Flemings, moreover, continued to enroll in these Francophone schools even when an alternative was available. But the election of Charles Buls to the position of *échevin* in Brussels in 1878 signaled the end of a *de jure*, if not a *de facto*, prescription of a unilingual French-language education for Flemings in that city; and the Education Act of 1883 provided increased opportunity for use of the mother tongue in state schools throughout the Flemish area. Henceforth, dual medium schools would play an important role in the education of young Flemings.

Dual medium schools were not new. Throughout the period of overt francisation, schools in certain Flemish communes of Brussels had offered parallel French and Flemish classes, including the first school attended by Alexis Sluys, and some had even offered classes in which a bilingual teacher made use first of one language then of the other[67]. What was new was the adoption of the dual medium concept as official policy. It was a policy, however, with its own internal inconsistencies, attempting as it did to combine a solution to a pedagogical problem, the high rate of failure among Flemings in school, with a solution to a political problem, preservation of the language and culture of the Flemish people. Solution to the first meant finding a better way to educate Flemings to read, write, and speak French, the language which connoted literacy. Solution to the second called for use of the mother tongue at least part of the time in school. The tension between these two educational priorities would be part of the language controversy for years to come, but in the last quarter of the 19th century schoolmasters believed that they had found a solution in the dual medium school. It may be useful, therefore, for us to examine the evolution of this curriculum design in the most influential school of this era, the Charles Buls Model School.

From Mother Tongue to Netherlandish: The Charles Buls Model School

Buls started with the premise that children would have greater success in school if they began their education in the mother tongue, a language they already knew, a language that would give them security and would, therefore, provide a bridge to all future learning[68]. He faced a practical problem, however. What was the mother tongue of a child in a city in which dialects differed from commune to commune[69], a city, furthermore, in which the Flemish proletariat spoke a corrupt and impoverished hybrid speech while the bourgeoisie spoke only French:

> La Ville de Bruxelles et ses faubourgs se trouvent dans une situation spéciale au point de vue de la langue. Dans certains quartiers, le peuple, artisans, ouvriers, parlent un patois flamand pauvre et corrompu, tandis que la bourgeoisie parle le français, les deux langues s'interpénetrent, les flandricismes fourmillent dans le français bruxellois et les wallonismes dans le patois flamand[70]

It was not that the dialect problem was unique to Flemings. Some Walloons maintained that the struggle to establish common usage in Belgian French was of even greater difficulty:

> Les flamands ont à leur disposition un idiome qui leur est propre, le neerlandais, lequel leur donne facilement accès aux autres idiomes germaniques. Sans doute, les Flamands ont aussi des patois qui diffèrent entre eux et d'avec le neerlandais; néanmoins, il leur est généralement beaucoup plus facile de passer à la langue litteraire qu'il ne l'est aux Wallons de connaître le français[71].

Walloons, however, had Parisian French for a literary standard, whereas Flemings had had no literary norm since the 16th century. If the dialect problem was ubiquitous, its ubiquity among Flemings was particularly troublesome:

> ... nous avons insisté d'une façon toute spéciale sur la nécessité impérieuse de combattre vivement la prononciation dialectique, le language de terroir, non seulement dans le cours de langue maternelle proprement dit, mais encore dans tous les cours où la chose est possible, ainsi que dans les multiples occasions qu'offre la vie de l'école normale. En Wallonia, on combat avec vigueur, dans les écoles normales ce parler provincial qui entrave de façon si désastreuse le progrès des élèves en langue française, dans les écoles normales flamandes, il importe que l'attaque soit encore plus vigoureuse car plus que les Wallons, les Flamands souffrent de la prédominance des dialectes, de l'infériorité manifeste de la langue générale[72].

Buls' solution was to accept the program of Flemish Nationalists, use of literary Dutch instead of a local patois or dialect. In doing so he did not solve the problem of dialect in Belgium, but he and others of his era began implementation of a solution that is still part of the educational framework. Hereinafter, the question would not be *whether* standard Dutch had a role in Flemish education. The question would be *how much* of a role.

For Buls, however, there was relative novelty in use of the language of the Netherlands in his school, an experiment inaugurated in 1877 by a Dutch teacher, a gentleman identified by Alexis Sluys as Meneer van Kalken, who found such a difference between his own speech and the speech of his students that he spent much of the first year trying to correct "fautes contre la langue" and to modify pronunciation. Clearly the "mother tongue" taught at school was not quite the same language spoken at home by the mothers of the students. Nevertheless, it was Buls' belief that Flemings would pass "facilement et rapidement du dialect ou du patois à la langue littéraire de même origine ... du flamand au néerlandais" (easily and rapidly from dialect or patois to the literary language of the same origin, ... from Flemish to Netherlandish); and the fact that van Kalken could teach standard Dutch to the young Flemings in his class was proof enough[73]. Buls was now ready for the next step.

In 1877 French was still the language of instruction for both Flemings and Walloons in the Buls school, and Netherlandish a *second* language, albeit a *required* second language for Flemings. The next step was to use Dutch as the *initial* medium of instruction, a step implemented only with great difficulty. In the 19th century, as in the 20th, Flemish parents "voulaient faire fréquenter par les enfants une école française" (wanted to have their children go to a French-language school); and it was only with the help of the *Willems-Fond* that Buls eventually succeeded in recruiting thirty students who spoke only Flemish at home and whose parents were willing to see them begin their formal education in Dutch rather than in French[74]. The Flemish middle class was far from united in its perception of the relationship of linguistic loyalty to social and professional advancement.

We should recognize, moreover, that even Buls did not view Dutch as more than an initial cognitive tool. Use of Netherlandish was limited to the primary grades. In the second year it was supplemented with a daily French lesson, and by the third year students were ready to "fuse" with the parallel French class. At best, Dutch was a transitional tool facilitating induction into a Francophone school system on the upper elementary, secondary, and university level — and into a Francophone cultural and professional world. This curriculum *did* provide Flemings with opportunity to read, write, and speak a standard form of their mother tongue; but French remained the dominant language of school and culture.

Transitional Bilingualism

Nevertheless, it was this dual medium curriculum which gave Belgium an international reputation as a center for bilingual education in the late 19th century and thereafter. T.R. Dawes, the peripatetic Welshman who visited Belgium in 1902 in order to find a model for bilingual education in his own country, singled out the dual medium school for special praise:

> In Brussels ... the schools that I visited were very mixed, and the Walloons had separate classes from the Flemish until the 4th year, when the classes were mixed and the school language for the last three years was French[75].

Dawes *did* go out of his way to find evidence that Walloons were learning Flemish, as well as Flemings, French; and he managed to conclude that Belgium was becoming bilingual without prominance given to either language[76]. But he also pointed out: "Flemings are far in advance of the Walloons ... as far as the learning of modern languages is concerned"[77].

Neither Dawes nor J.E. Verheyen, who gave a report on Belgian schools to the International Conference on Bilingualism and Education at Luxembourg in 1928, found anything remarkable about the fact that it was Flemings who assumed the primary responsibility for bilingualism. As J.E. Verheyen pointed out, in bilingual schools the mother tongue is the "langue véhiculaire de l'enseignement dans les classes inférieures, avec enseignement de la seconde langue depuis le début ... pour arriver progressivement à l'enseignement de toutes les branches en seconde langue exclusivement"[78]. This second language was always French.

The Pell-Mell Classroom

The Buls model provided one prototype, but other dual medium patterns of education coexisted with it in the late 19th and early 20th century. Dawes reported observation of classes in which "lessons were given for half the time in one language, then repeated in the other"[79]. And Verheyen called schools where one found "professeur et élèves d'une même classe employant indistinctement et pêle-mêle les deux langues", examples of "enseignement bilingue proprement dit"[80]. Verheyen notwithstanding, there seems to have existed some ambiguity about this pattern of education. According to the Triennial Report for 1891 to 1893, it was reserved only for "les écoles peu importantes" where insufficient enrollment made "double enseignement" (*i.e.*, parallel French and Flemish tracks in the same school) impossible[81]. Nevertheless, the Education Act of 1883 had sanctioned just such a pattern of education in the preparatory schools attached to state *athenées:*

> La terminologie des sciences mathématiques et naturelles, ainsi que des autres branches du programme, est enseignée simultanément en français et en flamand. Les noms historiques et géographiques sont, autant que possible, donnés à la fois en flamand et en français[82]

In an era when the "méthode intuitive-active" demanded that the teacher approach the second language in the same way that a mother speaks to her child[83] this "pêle-mêle" use of the two languages found little favor with pedagogues. As Alexis Sluys commented derisively:

> On ne sait dans quel cerveau est née cette formule étrange d'après laquelle les professeurs des branches scientifiques doivent s'interrompre constamment pour donner à leurs élè[illegible] 'simultanément ou à la fois' les termes néerlandais et leurs équivalents français désigna[illegible] les minéraux, les roches et fossiles, les animaux, les plantes, les phénomènes physiques, météorologiques, chimiques, biologiques, les contrées, les montagnes, les cours d'eau, les villes, les mers, les caps et mêmes les personnages historiques[84]!

Philosophers of the Flemish Movement would later question the mother-child image inherent in the "méthode intuitive-active" favored by pedagogues, but neither educators nor Flemish Nationalists were in favor of "simultaneous" instruction in the names of cities, seas, capes, and historical personages!

A Second Language of Instruction

A third pattern of dual medium instruction existed in the state secondary schools: use of Flemish or Dutch to teach one or more subjects, usually the Germanic languages, history, and geography; and French to teach the rest[85] — a pattern of education widely adopted in state schools in the Flemish region. Flemings would later hurl the accusation that such schools did not devote the required number of hours to use of their mother tongue[86], an accusation which set the stage for the reforms of Camille Huysmans, who in 1926 simply tipped the balance of instruction in favor of Dutch (in the Flemish region) by requiring that schools devote 2/3's of the day to its use as a language of instruction[87]. In Brussels, however, a city where "dès la troisième année d'études, le français devienne ... la langue véhiculaire de l'enseignement"[88], this mixed linguistic pattern was less in evidence[89]. The *Programme des Cours* of the *Athenée royale de Bruxelles* for 1922 does list a Flemish section in which history, geography, and the Germanic languages would be taught in Dutch[90]; but by 1928 according to J.-E. Verheyen all secondary schools in Brussels used French as the language of instruction[91].

The Efficacy of Dual Medium Schools

It is difficult to determine just how widespread dual medium schools were in Brussels between 1879 and 1932. It is probable that most secondary schools remained unilingual French-language institutions and that even elementary schools were slow to adopt the dual medium curriculum. According to the Triennal Report for 1900 to 1902, communes such as Bruxelles, St. Gilles, Ixelles, St. Josse, Schaerbeek, Etterbeek, Laeken, and Anderlecht offered only unilingual elementary education during those years despite their relatively large Flemish population[92]. Official reports claimed that 76% of primary schools in 1896 were "Flemish mother tongue" schools, a percentage that remained surprisingly constant. (See Table 2) We do not know how many of these schools (or how many of the "French mother tongue" schools) had a dual medium regime because we are not told how many used the second language as a medium of instruction or what proportion taught French or Flemish as a second language.

TABLE 2

The Mother Tongue of Primary Schools in Brussels, 1896 and 1911

Year	French Mother Tongue Schools		Flemish Mother Tongue Schools	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1896	373	24%	283	76%
1911	113	24%	360	76%

SOURCE: *Rapport Triennal sur l'état de l'enseignement primaire en Belgique, 1894-1896* (Bruxelles: J. Goemaere, 1898), pp. 338-340. *Rapport Triennal de l'instruction primaire en Belgique, 1909-1911* (Bruxelles: J. Goemaere, 1913), pp. 303-305.

Even in schools with a dual medium program, some of the children would be enrolled in French classes throughout elementary school. Nevertheless, the fact that the same percentage of schools offered French as a second language in 1911 as there were "Flemish mother tongue" schools — 76% — leads one to surmise that virtually *all* "Flemish schools" offered a dual medium regime, particularly since Brussels elementary schools used French as the language of the school after the third year. (See Table 3) For Walloons the situation was different; only 19% of the schools in Brussels offered Flemish as a second language, although 24% were "French mother tongue" schools. And in these schools we may suspect that enrollment in the Flemish classes was largely derived from the Flemish segment of the population. This was at best a one-sided bilingualism.

TABLE 3

The Second Language of Primary Schools in Brussels, 1896 and 1911

Year	Schools Teaching French as the Second Language		Schools Teaching Flemish as the Second Language	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1896	220	59%	88	24%
1911	359*	76%	90	19%

SOURCE: *Rapport Triennal sur l'état de l'enseignement primaire en Belgique, 1894-1896* (Bruxelles: J. Goemaere, 1898), pp. 338-340. *Rapport Triennal de l'instruction primaire en Belgique, 1909-1911* (Bruxelles: J. Goemaere, 1913), pp. 303-305.

*19 schools were also reported to teach French outside of school hours.

How successful were dual medium schools? According to T.R. Dawes, not only were Flemings learning French in them, but Walloons were learning Flemish as well: "The prejudice formerly felt against Flemish dies away as its utility in a country which is becoming more and more bilingual asserts itself"[93]. Flemish critics, however, presented a somewhat different picture, particularly in those circles where there existed a strong desire to preserve Flemish identity and culture and to make Netherlandish the dominant language of education, "de voertaal van het onderwijs"[94].

Such critics condemned almost every aspect of the dual medium curriculum: on the one hand claiming that Flemish children were having difficulty making transition to French classes[95]; on the other, that "simultaneous" instruction actually meant recourse to more and more French[96]. According to these critics, if the goal was to get Flemish children into French classes, these children would not learn to value the mother tongue. The children lived, furthermore, in a hostile environment in which they were not even allowed to use Flemish on the playground[97]. There was a stigma attached to assignment to the Flemish regime: "Si vous n'êtes pas sages, nous vous mettrons dans la classe flamande"[98]. And there were not enough teachers trained in Flemish to do the job that needed to be done. As late as 1907, the Normal School of Brussels still held its examination for the Flemish diploma in French[99]. Furthermore, there were not nearly enough Flemish classes for the system to work. Some Flemish critics of the system placed the ratio of French to Flemish classes as high as eight to one – and noted that it was getting worse[100].

It might be possible to weigh this criticism against testimony *for* dual medium schools were it not for evidence from other sources that after 1880 the centuries-old language shift from Flemish to French in Brussels actually began to accelerate. In 1880, 18% of the Brussels population were unilingual Francophones; in 1930, 43% were. In 1880, 59% were unilingual Flemings; in 1930, 16% were. (See Table 4) Before World War I the number of bilinguals in Brussels did actually increase – testimony perhaps to the efficacy of the dual medium curriculum in cushioning the transition to French. In 1880, 23% of the Brussels population were bilingual in French and Flemish; in 1910 this proportion had risen to 50%. But thereafter the bilingual segment of the population began to decline, slowly to be sure: from 50% in 1910 to 41% in 1930; and this decline was accompanied by a sharp rise in the number of unilingual Francophones: 18% in 1880, 27% in 1910, 34% in 1920, 43% in 1930. Were bilingual Flemings rearing unilingual Francophone children? It is impossible to account for this language shift from any other segment of the population. If this be so, it is not difficult to see why Flemish Nationalists came to view "bilingual schools" – whatever their curricular design – as one-way road to unilingualism, and Brussels as a city of unique temptations where a metamorphosis from bilingual Fleming to unilingual Francophone could take place within two or three generations.

By the 1920's the educational patterns in Brussels had entered a new phase. For one thing, Flemish schools were converting to a bilingual status at such a rate that by 1929 there were only 4% unilingual Flemish elementary schools left in the city. (See Table 5) The number of French schools, on the other hand, had more than doubled, accounting for more than 69% of the primary schools in Brussels by 1921, up from the 24% in 1911 that we indicated in Table 3. That many *bruxellois* preferred to support French-language schools in the decade after World War I may be partially explained as a reaction to German pro-Flemish policies during their occupation of Belgium[101], a point we will explore in the next chapter. But it is also true that more Flemings than ever before were able to induct their children into Francophone culture in a bilingual home. The dual-medium schools of their youth had done its job thoroughly.

TABLE 4

Unilingual French, Unilingual Flemish and Bilingual Population of Brussels, 1880 to 1930

Year	Unilingual French		Unilingual Flemish		Bilingual French and Flemish	
	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage
1880	105,346	18%	338,821	59%	130,164	23%
1890	112,402	16%	326,114	47%	258,677	37%
1900	144,723	19%	340,653	44%	294,901	38%
1910	205,217	27%	173,450	23%	372,193	50%
1920	253,226	34%	124,194	17%	371,012	49%
1930	326,929	43%	118,501	16%	308,414	41%

SOURCE: *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique* 33 (Bruxelles: J.B. Stevens, 1903), p. 83. *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique et du Congo Belge* 44 (Bruxelles: A. Lesigne, 1914), p. 89. *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique et du Congo Belge* 58 (Gand: Vanderpoorten, 1935), p. 32. Percentages are derived from the population in the French and Flemish language groups, not from the total population which includes a very small group who knew neither language.

TABLE 5

Unilingual and Bilingual Primary Schools in Brussels, 1921 and 1927

Year	Unilingual French Schools		Unilingual Flemish Schools		Bilingual Schools French-Flemish	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1921	159	69%	50	22%	21	9%
1929	145	64%	9	4%	74	32%

SOURCE: *Rapport sur la situation de l'instruction primaire en Belgique, 1912-1920* (Bruxelles: Th. Dewarichet, 1927), pp. 136-145. *Rapport sur la situation de l'instruction primaire en Belgique. 1927-1929* (Bruxelles: n.p., n.d.), pp. 656-669.

Notes

[1] The Language Law of 1963 did provide for the use of French in Flanders, and Dutch in Wallonia, in certain schools for handicapped children, schools for the children of members of the armed services stationed nearby, and certain technical schools — but only those children whose legal ethnic and linguistic identity coincided with the language of instruction were eligible to enroll, a condition carefully monitored by the linguistic inspectorate. Interview with J. Doppagne, Nivelles, June 8, 1976.

[2] John J. Murray, *Antwerp in the Age of Plantin and Brueghel* (Normal, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970) is a good introduction to the history of this city. See also two books by Jervis Wegg, *Antwerp (1477-1559): From the Battle of Nancy to the Treaty of Cateau Cambresis* (London: Methuen, 1916) and *The Decline of Antwerp Under Philip of Spain* (London: Methuen, 1924.

[3] Louis-Théo Maes, "The Parliament and Great Council of Malines (1473-1796), an Institution of European Dimension", *Memo From Belgium* No. 160 (1973).

[4] Ludovico Guicciardini, *Belgique 1567*, Paul Ciselet & Marie Delcourt, eds. (Bruxelles: Office de Publicité, 1943), p. 57.

[5] "Meesters en Leraren", *Flandria Nostra. Ons Land en Ons Volk:Zijn standen en beroepen door de tijden heen*, J.L. Broeckx *et al.*, eds. 5 vols. (Antwerpen-Brussel-Gent-Leuven: N.V. Standaard Boekhandel, 1957-1960), 5:352. See also, V. Lamy, "Les grandes écoles à Bruxelles depuis les origines jusqu'à l'établissement des Jésuites et des Augustines", *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* 30 (1924-1925): 48-64.

[6] Alexandre Henne et Alphonse Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, 3 vols (Bruxelles: Perichon, 1845), 1:365.

[7] For a provocative discussion of the role of Latin schools, see Walter J. Ong, "Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite", *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1971), pp. 113-141.

[8] Jean IV wanted to found a university in Brussels in 1422, but the magistrates there dissuaded him, saying that the students would dishonor their daughters. Henne et Wauters, 1:228. The three languages studied at the *Collegium Trilingue* were Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. See Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Lovaniense 1517-1550*, 4 vols. (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1951.)

[9] E.J. Riemens, *Esquisse historique de l'enseignement du français en Hollande du XVI*^{e} *au XIX*^{e} *siècle* (Leyde: A.W. Sijthoff, 1919), p. 3. Riemens takes issue with Pirenne's dating of this custom to the 16th century. Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* (Bruxelles: M. Lamertin, 1922-1932), 3:316.

[10] Adenès li Roi, *Li Roumans de Berte aux grans piés*, ed. Scheler, p. 6. Quoted in Godefroid Kurth, *La frontière linguistique en Belgique et dans le nord de la France*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles: Société Belge de Librairie, 1896-1898), 2:17. (There is a custom in the Thiois country/That all the great noblemen, the count and the marquis/Have a French gentleman about them/In order to teach French to their sons and daughters.)

[11] Philippe de Marnix de St. Aldegonde, "Ratio Instituendae Juventutis", in *Oeuvres*, vol. 6: *Correspondance et mélanges*, trans. from Latin to French by Albert Lacroix (Bruxelles: Fr. van Meenen, 1860, p. 92.)

[12] C.A.J. Armstrong, "The Language Question in the Low Countries: The Use of French and Dutch by the Dukes of Burgundy and Their Administration", *Europe in the*

Late Middle Ages, J.R. Hale *et al.*, eds. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 104; Pirenne, *Histoire* 3:135; Louis Verniers, *Un millenaire d'histoire de Bruxelles depuis les origines jusqu'en 1830* (Bruxelles: Editions De Boeck, 1965), pp. 174-175.

[13] "Meesters en Leraren", *Flandria Nostra*, 3:354. These vernacular schools admitted both boys and girls, whereas the Latin schools were male bastions.

[14] Caroline Brown Bourland, *The Guild of St. Ambrose or School-masters' Guild of Antwerp (1529-1579)* (Northhampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1951). For a discussion of the number of "little schools" in Brussels in the 16th century at the time of Charles V, see Henne & Wauters, 1:365.

[15] Ludovico Guicciardini, *Description de la Cité d'Anvers* [suivant l'édition Plantienne de 1582] (Anvers: G. Zazzarini, 1920), p. 115.

[16] Jan Berthout, *Ghemeyne T'Samen coutinghe ghemaeckt by wijlen Jan Berthout Schoolmeester tot Brussele by de welcke ghevoeght is een Vocabulare ghedeylt by Capitellen Van nieus ouersien ende verbetert. Collocutions familières, composées par feu Jean Berthout maistre d'Escole à Bruxelles, auquelles est adiouté un Vocabulaire, divisé par Chapitres.* (Antwerpen: Heironymus Verdussen, 1619.) This late edition is cited in A. Hendrickx, "France school- en leerboeken in de 16^{e} en de 17^{e} eeuw", *Paedagogica Historica* 1 (1961): 229-230. We may infer a late 16th century *first* edition.

[17] See also Albert Counson, "Le français en Belgique et les écoles wallonnes à l'époque de la Renaissance *Mélanges G. Lanson* (Paris: Hachette, 1922), pp. 98-102. Pirenne, *Histoire*, 3:316. Riemens, *Esquisse*, supplies a useful bibliography of bilingual textbooks.

[18] Pierre Heyns, *Le Miroir des Mesnagères.* Comedie très honneste representant la difference d'une bonne & mauvaise mesnagère (Harlem: Gilles Romain pour Zacharie Heyns, 1595). This school play was written for use in the school run by Heyns for Flemish girls. See also, Maurits Sabbe, *Peeter Heyns en de nimfen ... uit den Lauwerbaum* (Antwerpen: Nijhoff, 1929; C.P. Serrure, "Peeter Heyns. Het schoolwezen te Antwerpen", *Vaderlandsch Museum* (1859-1860), 3:293-404; Elizabeth Sherman Swing, "Peeter Heyns: The Word, the Mirror, and the Journey" (Unpublished article, 1975).

[19] *Supplément à la correspondance de C. Plantin*, M. van Durme, ed. (Anvers: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1955), pp. 325-326. (Your children want to learn and to fuse French and Flemish, joining practice with theory to speak a double language.)

[20] Léon Lebon, *L'instruction du peuple, histoire de l'enseignement populaire* (Bruxelles: C. Muquardt, 1868.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 236-237. Teachers of French could command six florins per lesson, teachers of Flemish only four — or three if they taught girls (!).

[22] Both Bourland, *The Guild of St. Ambrose*, and Swing, "Peeter Heyns: The Word, the Mirror and the Journey", explore the interconnectedness between vernacular education and Protestantism in the "little schools".

[23] Marion Coulon, *Jeunesse à la dérive* 5 vols. (Mons: Silene, 1945-1948), 1:85; Henne & Wauters, 3:170; Lamy, "Les grandes écoles", p. 60.

[24] Chapter IV of the Synod states, "On ne confiera à aucune personne du peuple des livres d'Ecriture sainte en langue vulgaire ... si ce n'est l'autorisation des évêques ou de leurs délégués". (No lay person may be entrusted with the Holy Scriptures unless authorized by the Bishops or their delegates.) Quoted in Lebon, *Instruction du peuple*, p. 234.

[25] Marnix, "Ratio Instituendae Juventutis", p. 34. Marnix insists that it is a great mistake to forbid use of the mother tongue because without it the young do not know "particulars".

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32. The point Marnix makes is that students will learn *Latin* better if they have had practice translating it into the vernacular.

[27] The Augustinians opened their first *collège* in 1601, the Jesuits in 1604. Henne and Wauters, 2:56.

[28] Fernand Daumont, *Le mouvement flamand* 2 vols. (Bruxelles: Societé Belge de Librairie, 1911), 2:314.

[29] Pirenne, *Histoire*, 4:459. For a discussion of the decline of Flemish in the schools during the Austrian regime, see Marcel Vanhamme, "Quelques notes relatives aux maîtres d'école bruxellois à la fin de l'ancien régime", *Folklore brabançon* 20 (1940-1949): 51.

[30] See Chapter I, p. 16.

[31] The history of the Society of Jesus is outside the scope of this study. We should recognize, however, that the Brief of Suppression issued by Pope Clement XIV in 1773 was preceded by the banishment of the Society from Portugal and Brazil in 1759, from France in 1762, and from Spain in 1767. The Society was protected in Russia by Catherine II, although it was later banished there after its restoration in the rest of the world; and it was protected in Prussia until 1786 and in parts of the New World throughout this period. In Belgium, where the Bishops ordered the Society closed in 1775, ex-Jesuits formed a community called the "Fathers of the Sacred Heart" and others, a community called "Fathers of the Faith", which even explored union with Jesuits in Russia. In Belgium as in other Western European countries, the Society was restored after 1814 — although by then many former Jesuit Schools had been through several metamorphoses. The *Collège Thérésien de Bruxelles*, for example, a former Jesuit School, became *Ecole Centrale*, *Le Lycée*, a model school under William of the Netherlands, and eventually *L'Athenée Royal de Bruxelles* when Belgium gained independence. See H. Dorcy, *L'Athenée Royal de Bruxelles: Son Histoire* (Bruxelles: Office de Publicité, 1950).

[32] Emile Greyson, *L'enseignement public en Belgique; aperçu historique et exposé de la législation*, 3 vols. (Bruxelles: Charles Rozez, [1893-1896], 2:x-xi.

[33] Verniers, *Millenaire* p. 472.

[34] Suzanne Tassier, "Verlooy, précurseur du mouvement flamand", *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 43 (décembre-janvier, 1938): 155-171.

[35] Pirenne, *Histoire*, 6:192. See also, Alexis Sluys, *L'enseignement en Belgique sous le régime français* (Bruxelles: P. Weissenbruch, 1898), for a somewhat different perspective.

[36] Théodore Juste, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'instruction publique en Belgique, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Bruxelles: Librairie Nationale, 1844), 252.

[37] Pirenne, *Histoire*, 6:185-187.

[38] Herman Boon, *Enseignement primaire et alphabétisation dans l'agglomération de Bruxelles de 1830 à 1879* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1969), p. 22.

[39] A. de Jonghe, *De Taalpolitiek van Koning Willem I in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*, 1814-1830 (Sint-Andries-bij Brugge: J. Darthet, 1967), p. 195.

[40] Verniers, *Millenaire*, p. 566. The homologation issue would reemerge in 1967 at the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

[41] Juste, *L'histoire*, p. 291. Except for Dutch and French literature courses, the language of instruction at Ghent and Liege was Latin, the traditional language of higher education.

[42] Vernon Mallinson, *Power and Politics in Belgian Education 1815-1961* (London: Heinemann, 1963), p. 25.

[43] This important point is discussed in an article by Aristide Zolberg, "Belgium", *Les Etats multilingues: problèmes et solutions*, Jean G. Savard & Richard Vigneault, éds. (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1975), pp. 448-449.

[44] R. Emerson Tennent, *Belgium*, 2 vols. (London: Richart Bentley, 1841), 2:118-119.

[45] Quoted in Robert G. Vanderkerckove, *L'admission progressive de la langue neérlandaise dans les textes officiels en Belgique* (Bruxelles: UGA, 1969), p. 7. (On the other hand, the Flemish and German languages in use by the inhabitants of certain localities differ from province to province, and sometimes from district to district, so that it would be impossible to publish an official text of the laws and executive orders in the Flemish and German languages.)

[46] Juste, *L'histoire*, p. 332.

[47] Daumont, *Mouvement Flamand*, 2:257. An attempt to reopen the Flemish contest in 1853 failed when only five schools in all of Belgium responded.

[48] Greyson, *L'enseignement publique*, 1:64.

[49] C.J. van Nerun, *Essai sur l'instruction primaire et en particulier sur les écoles gratuites de Gand* (Gand: Annoot-Braeckman, 1838), pp. 143-144, 154-156.

[50] These census figures are subject to varying interpretations, depending on which communes are considered to be part of Brussels at this time. Boom, *Enseignement primaire*, p. 355, views 61% Flemish as a correct derivation, but H. Aelvoet, *Honderd vijfentwintig jaar verfransing in de agglomeratie en het arrondissement Brussel, 1830-1955* (Brussel: Simon Stevin, 1957), p. 17, includes more Flemish-speaking communes and comes up with 66%. In neither case is the number of bilinguals tabulated in 1846, an omission which makes comparison of this figure with later figures that have a bilingual category invalid.

[51] Quoted in Boon, *Enseignement primaire*, pp. 113-114. (Sir, as far as these two schools are concerned, in order for the instruction to be understood by the students, it can only be given in Flemish, for that is the language of the indigent population.)

[52] Greyson, *L'enseignement publique*, 3:272.

[53] Boon, *Enseignement primaire*, pp. 391-394.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 359. (The working population wants above all else that its children learn the French language, and the day when a single doubt is raised on this point most of our classes will be deserted.)

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] In *Enseignement primaire* Boon relates the high illiteracy rate among Flemings to their socio-economic status.

[57] Quoted in Aelvoet, *Verfransing*, p. 40. ("Het lager onderwijs wordt te Brussel in het Frans gegeven, dan wanneer de grote meerderheid der leerlingen Vlaams is ... Velen kunnen werktuigelijk het Frans lezen, maar begrijpen de zin van het gelezen niet; zij spreken het Vlaams zonder het te kunnen lezen.")

[58] See footnote 25, p. 69.

[59] Alexis Sluys, *Mémoires d'un Pédagogue* (Bruxelles: Editions de la Ligue de l'Enseignement, 1939), p. 29. (All this program, purely verbal and mechanical, was taught in French to students who at seven years spoke only the Brussels Flemish patois; it was an education really exasperating for students and for teacher.)

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 76. (The students were promoted to the advanced classes speaking little French and speaking it badly, reading mechanically and without comprehension. They got to their military conscription at the age of twenty close to illiterate.)

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-25.

[64] Boon, *Enseignement primaire*, p. 419.

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 360-362.

[66] Shepard B. Clough, *A History of the Flemish Movement in Belgium* (New York: Octogon Books, 1968 [1930]), pp. 149-169.

[67] Boon, *Enseignement primaire*, p. 385.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 360.

[69] Henne & Wauters, *Histoire*, 2:598. Writing in 1845, Henne and Wauters noted that the Flemish of Brussels was less than elegant and correct, varied from quarter to quarter, and frequently fell to the level of a patois.

[70] Sluys, *Mémoires*, p. 76. (The city of Brussels and its suburbs is in a special situation linguistically. In certain sections, the people, artisans, workers, speak a Flemish patois that is poor and corrupted, while the bourgeoisie speaks French. The two languages interpenetrate. Flemish expressions swarm with the Brussels French, and Walloon with the Flemish patois.)

[71] R. Lapaille, *Flamands et Wallons à l'école primaire* (Liège: Demarteau, 1894), pp. 21-22. (Flemings have at their disposition an idiom that is their own, Netherlandish, which gives them easy access to other Germanic idioms. Without doubt Flemings also have some patois which differ among themselves and from Netherlandish; nevertheless, it is generally easier for them to pass to the literary language than it is for Walloons to learn French.)

[72] *Rapport Triennal de l'instruction primaire en Belgique, 1900-1901-1902* (Bruxelles: J. Goemaire, 1904), p. lxxviii. (We have insisted in an entirely special fashion on the important necessity of fighting dialect pronunciation, not only in the course for the mother tongue properly speaking, but also in all courses wherever possible, thus in the multiple occasions offered in the normal school. In Wallonia, this speech, which fetters the progress of students in the French language in such a disastrous fashion is fought with vigor in the normal schools; it is important that the attack be equally vigorous in the Flemish normal schools, for even more than Walloons, Flemings suffer from the predominance of dialects, from the manifest inferiority of the general language.)

[73] Sluys, *Mémoires*, pp. 76-78.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[75] T.R. Dawes, *Bilingual Teaching in Belgian Schools* (Cambridge: University Press, 1902), p. 15.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[78] M. J.-E. Verheyen, "Le bilinguisme en Belgique", *Le bilinguisme et l'éducation*, travaux de la conférence internationale tenue à Luxembourg du 2 au 5 avril 1928, p. 139. (... language of education in the lower grades with instruction in the second language from the beginning ... in order progressively to reach instruction in all areas in the second language exclusively.)

[79] Dawes, *Bilingual Teaching*, pp. 18-19, 24.

[80] Verheyen, "Le bilinguisme", p. 139.

[81] *Rapport Triennal sur la situation de l'instruction primaire en Belgique 1891-1892-1893* (Bruxelles: J. Goemaere, 1896), p. xii.

[82] Greyson, *L'enseignement publique*, 2:303. (The terminology of the mathematical and natural sciences, as well as other parts of the program, is taught simultaneously in French and in Flemish. The historical and geographical names are, as much as possible, given at the same time in Flemish and in French.)

[83] Ville de Bruxelles, *Programme de l'enseignement à donner dans les écoles primaires communales, dans les écoles d'application annexées aux écoles normales et dans les sections préparatoires des écoles moyennes. Guide pour instituteur.* (Bruxelles: J. Baertsoen, 1897), pp. 32-33. Also in Dawes, pp. 16-17, in English translation.

[84] Alexis Sluys, "Nos langues nationales dans l'enseignement", *Le Flambeau* 14, nos 4-5 (avril-mai, 1931):481. (One does not know in what brain this strange formula was born whereby teachers of science must interrupt themselves constantly to give to their students "simultaineously and at one time" the Dutch terms designating minerals, rocks and fossils, animals, plants, physical phenomena, meteorological, chemical, biological, countries, mountains, rivers, cities, seas, capes, and even historical persons — and their French equivalents!)

[85] Greyson, *L'enseignement publique*, 2:303.

[86] Daumont, *Mouvement Flamand*, 2:266-268.

[87] Verheyen, "Le bilinguisme", p. 140.

[88] *Rapport Triennal*, 1900-1902, p. clxxxvi.

[89] Daumont, *Mouvement Flamand*, 2:266-268.

[90] Athenée Royale de Bruxelles, *Programme des cours et extraits du réglement* (Bruxelles: E. Guyot, 1922), pp. 3-4.

[91] Verheyen, "Le bilinguisme", p. 140.

[92] *Rapport Triennal*, 1900-1901-1902, p. clxxxvi.

[93] Dawes, *Bilingual Teaching*, pp. 10-11.

[94] M. Brants, *De Hervorming van het Middelbaar Onderwijs* (Gent: A. Siffer, 1906), p. 302.

[95] Richard de Cneudt, *De vervlaamsching van het lager onderwijs in groot Brussel* (Brussel: A. Hessens, 1918, p. 30.

[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

[97] Maurits Basse, *De Vlaamsche Beweging van 1905 tot 1930*, 2 vols. (Gent: van Rysselberghe & Rombaut, 1930-1933) 1:117.

[98] Cneudt, *De verflaamsching*, pp. 29-30.

[99] Gustaaf Segers, *Onze Taal in het Middelbaar Onderwijs* (Gent: A. Siffler, 1907), p. 37. In *Onze Taal in het Onderwijs* (Gent: A. Siffler, 1904), Segers points out that most schools even in Flanders did not devote the mandated number of hours to teaching Flemish.

[100] Cneudt, *De vervlaamsching*, p. 32.

[101] Mina Martens, *et al.*, *Histoire de Bruxelles*, (Bruxelles: (Editions Universitaires, 1976), pp. 432-433.

PART TWO

THE EMERGENCE OF SEPARATISM

CHAPTER IV

THE IDEA OF A FLEMISH NATION

Issues in the Language Quarrel

Social, Political, and Economic Issues

If doubt had existed in the past about the interdependence between schools, language, and the Belgian nation, during the decade preceding passage of the Language Law of 1932, the "Loi du 14 juillet concernant le régime linguistique de l'enseignement primaire et de l'enseignement moyen en Belgique", this doubt gave way to frank recognition that the quarrel between Flemings and Walloons had escalated to such a degree that it threatened the stability of the entire social fabric. As J.E. Verheyen told the International Conference on Education and Bilingualism in 1928:

> L'ecole et la question linguistique en Belgique est un des problémes qui a fait toujours et fait encore l'objet de discussions et de luttes âpres et violentes; elle domine pour ainsi dire tous les autres problémes et il n'est pas exagéré de dire qu'elle empoisonne littéralement la vie publique[1]

No single factor accounts for the escalation of the language quarrel at this time. We cannot, however, overlook the fact that this escalation coincided with the establishment of social and political programs which had their greatest impact on Flemings, inhabitants of the less industrialized, more impoverished section of Belgium. Flemings were better educated than ever before. The Education Act of 1914, the first compulsory education law since Belgium became an independent nation, had, of necessity, a greater impact on Flemings, the group most likely to drop out of school after a few years, than on Walloons. According to Vernon Mallinson, the mere fact that this group was now expected to stay in school until the age of eleven had a measurable impact on the literacy rate in the next twenty years[2]. More Flemings were voting than ever before. The Law of February 7, 1921 had granted universal suffrage to all (male) Belgians. In the wake of this law, the balance of political power, traditionally in the hands of Francophone property owners, most of whom lived in Wallonia or Brussels, now began to shift to Flanders where a majority of the Belgian people had always lived. Add to this the economic deprivations of World War I, compounded by the impact of a world wide depression at the end of the decade following it. A newly literate, newly enfranchised nucleous of Flemings had begun to garner their political potential, but their raised expectations were accompanied by shattered economic hopes — a dangerous combination[3].

Ideological Issues

Nevertheless, these newly emancipated Flemings would not have used power in the way that they did had not their expectations also been bolstered by the evolution of the Flemish Movement. Nineteenth century Flemish Nationalists had fought for limited objectives: standardization of the Flemish language, translation of Belgian law into their mother tongue, the right of a Fleming to be tried in court in a language he or she understood. Even school reform was limited: use of Netherlandish in the primary grades as a transitional medium of instruction, and in the secondary schools in a few courses. French had remained the language of higher education, the language of public life, the language of the Belgian elite.

During the first third of the 20th century, however, a new radical group within the movement began to translate the premise, "Het voornaamste kenmerk van een volk is zijne taal"[4], into political action. Their politics were based on more than a rejection of the traditional linguistic hierarchy and its assumption that French was a world language of innate value and Netherlandish a vernacular of limited merit -- although they started with a rejection of this assumption. But they were also prepared to reject a social framework in which French was the language of power and Flemish the stigmata of the masses. They were even prepared to reject an identity derived from a Belgian nation-state which perpetuated customs and institutions based on this hierarchy — "une contrée, sans frontières naturelles, ou l'on parle deux langues", which Henri Pirenne wrote about[5].

As Carleton Hayes has pointed out:

> The sentiment of nationality is not new. The sentiment of patriotism is not new. But nationalism is new. Only since the eighteenth century has there been a conscious and purposeful attempt to redraw the political map of the whole world on national lines and to instill in the hearts and minds of all human beings a supreme loyalty to their respective nationalities and to their several national states"[6].

In the 19th century the Flemish Movement had called for "supreme loyalty" to the mystical bonds of linguistic nationalism. Now it was prepared to call for loyalty to a much more pragmatic ideological vision.

Joshua Fishman has identified three stages in the evolution of nationalist movements based on linguistic ethnicity: the selection of a proper vernacular, the codification of grammatical and orthographic rules[7] the elaboration of an "apparently unified, authenticated, and modern problem-solving nationality out of ... daily ethnic routines and beliefs"[8]. By the end of the 19th century, Flemings had completed the first two stages in their "re-ethnification of a proto-elite", to use Fishman's terms[9]. Hereinafter, and with increasing precision, "nationality" would come to mean sharpened awareness of the boundaries *between* Flemings and Walloons, both geographic, the language line, and psychic. And participation in the political process — for radical Flemings, at any rate — would come to connote primary allegiance to the ideo of a Flemish nation.

Not all Flemings took the concept of Flemish nationality literally, but it is not an exaggeration to say that all Flemings were influenced by it. In the decade following World War I, even moderate Flemings, "Minimalists", were ready to divide the Ministry of Arts and Sciences into Flemish and French sections in order to safeguard the use of the mother tongue in school. And radical Flemings, "Maximalists", called for complete autonomy of their linguistic homeland[10]. The idea of a Flemish nation even influenced Walloons — and not just those ready to join Jules Destrée in their own Francophone separatist movement. Walloons as well as Flemings supported the Language Law of 1932, and did so because they believed it to be the only possible alternative to "la puissance d'un mouvement séparatiste flamand ... dont la tendance antibelge ... était virulent"[11] (the power of a Flemish separatist movement ... whose anti-Belgian propensity ... was virulent). The idea of a Flemish nation was the radical vision that made compromise possible.

The Separatist Movement

The Emergence of Separatism

The idea of a Flemish nation predates World War I, but it came into its own during that unhappy period. A society which has almost fallen apart — even through no fault of its own is fertile ground for radicalism. Given the existence of a Francophone ruling class in the Flemish section of the country, given an Army in which Flemings were commanded in a language many of them did not know[12], Flemish Nationalists were more than receptive to propaganda from Allies and Germans alike. It was not *just* that the Allied concept of self-determination fitted the mood of an occupied country. Flemish Nationalists were already exploring the implications of the Pan-Netherlandish Movement, of the Pan-Germanic Movement, and their own separatist movement.

In the beginning the point at which philology, literature, and linguistic mystique became political action was not clearly articulated. Let us consider, for example, the career of an extremist, Antoon Jacob (1889-1947), the man who introduced the word *Activist* to the radical fringe of the Flemish Movement[13] — a word which came to connote *separatism* to many Flemings, *cooperation* to the German Occupier during World War I, and *treason* to most Belgians. Jacob began his career as scholar specializing in Flemish literature. He edited the letters of Hendrik Conscience, did studies of Verlooy[14] and Broeckaert[15], and of the state of Flemish literature during the French occupation during the Napoleonic era[16]. Unlike earlier literary Flemings, however, Jacob linked the task of reviving the Flemish language to politics — and he did so with the zeal of a missionary.

In the Foreword to his edition of the letters of Hendrik Conscience (1913), Jacob speaks of the concern which plagues him every day of his existence, an unceasing struggle for the betterment of the mother tongue and the Belgian nationality ("een onophoudende kamp ... ten voordeele der moedertaal en der Belgische nationaliteit")[17]. But the "nationality" with which he was concerned does not refer to the entire Belgian nation. He points out that his edition of Conscience is a step in the amelioration of the condition in Flanders, a way of awakening the strength that slumbers in the entire Flemish people ("die drachten die nog sluimeren in geheel het Vlaamsche volk"), and he goes on to say that he will accept help for this great task from whatever sources are at hand, even from foreign sources ("van wat vreemde volkeren")[18]. His view of history is Manichaean — with the French language cast in the role of Evil: "Die Historie heeft gewild, dat naast het goede dat wij aan het Zuiden hebben te danken, ook van dien kant het kwaad, de verfransching, gekomen is"[19]. (History has willed that next to the good for which we have to thank the South has also come evil, the spread of French.) And he dedicates himself to his preordained role, the task of eradicating this evil so that Good (*i.e.*, the Flemish language) may dominate in Flanders.

In 1911, when the Dutch historian, Pieter Geyl, met Jacob at a Congress of Flemish Nationalists at Ghent, this cultural task had already become political mission; but the group whom Geyl met were nevertheless dedicated idealists with whom he could join to redress the wrongs against their common civilization:

> I was deeply impressed by the moral fervor that met me there; I felt that this was not merely a manifestation of nationalism, but that these men were conscious of a great social task, which they could fulfill only when the abnormal language conditions of their country were righted ... for what was at stake was the future of Flanders, of our own, of our common, language and civilization[20].

For Geyl this "great social task" became the central theme in his historiography, the theme of the Flemish people artificially separated from the Great Netherlands by the Peace of Munster, which had left them "crippled and exhausted" and had, therefore, "perpetuated a situation in which Dutch civilization in the south was bound to wither"[21]. For Geyl, therefore, the great task was to provide intellectual justification for the essential unity of the Dutch-speaking people.

For extremists like Jacob, however, intellectual justification for the Pan-Netherlandish Movement was not enough. In the early days of the German Occupation of Belgium in

World War I, he edited a periodical in Amsterdam, *De Vlaamsche Stem*, which began as an organ representing "de kleine volkeren"[22]. As Jacob came more and more to identify the needs of "de kleine volkeren" with self-determination, however, this periodical evolved into a radical publication which in 1915 urged separatism for Flanders. The statement of this position led to a rupture between Jacob and his co-editor, Jan-Frans van Cauwelaert, who forthwith established a newspaper of his own and began to build a base for a political following that would work within the Belgian nation. It also led to difficulties with the Belgian government-in-exile at Le Havre, which declared Jacob *persona non grata* and dispatched M. Prosper Poullet, Minister of Arts and Sciences, to Amsterdam where he personally deprived Jacob of the right ever to teach in Belgium and even exerted pressure on the Dutch government to dismiss Jacob's associate, René Declercq, from his teaching job at a Belgian school in Amsterdam[23]. There is no doubt that the Belgian government saw Flemish Activism as a threat.

Thereafter, Jacob's career became totally intertwined with radical Separatist activities. He appeared in Antwerp in 1916, a member of the radical *Vlaamsche Landsbond*, urging Flemings to become Activists[24]. His name appears on the *Vlaamsche Hoogeschool* faculty list, one of the "versgebakken hoogleraaren" (newly half-baked professors) appointed by the Germans to the Flemish University that they had opened at Ghent[25]. He was probably present at the meeting in February 1917 of two hundred Activists in a Brussels café at which the infamous Council of Flanders, the *Raad van Vlaanderen*, was born[26]. We are certain, at any rate, that he was a member of the first Council of Flanders, the organization that declared Flanders an independent state. He was, in fact, its archivist[27].

The Belgian government responded to these activities by declaring Jacob a traitor and sentencing him to death, although the sentence was later commuted and he was released from prison in 1923[28]. Thereafter, he embarked on an unsuccessful attempt to gain amnesty for himself and other Activists[29] – unsuccessful, that is, until September 1940 when the German military government that ruled Belgium during World War II responded favorably to a commission headed by August Borms, the "King of Flanders" in World War I, and – in the words of the Belgian press then controlled by the occupier – granted reparation to those "qui ont été poursuivis en Belgique à la suite de leur coopération avec l'autorité occupante allemande pendant la guerre de 1914-1918"[30] (those who were prosecuted in Belgium following their cooperation with the German occupying authority during the war of 1914-1918). Shortly thereafter Jacob, who had held a lectureship in Netherlandish literature at the University of Hamburg since 1932, was offered a chair in comparative literature at the University of Brussels by the German military government; however, he was not to teach in Belgium. The faculty at Brussels voted to close down rather than to accept a World War I traitor as a colleague. For Jacob, who was again convicted of treason after World War II, Separatism had indeed led to separation from the Belgian nation[31].

Jacob was, of course, an extremist whose career became more aberration than archetype. Geyl speaks of the "rectilinear quality" of his mind and of the way he "lost his head completely under the influence of the German lunacy"[32]. Others of Jacob's generation such as Jan-Frans van Cauwelaert and Herman Vos were able to withstand the blandishments of Pan-Germanism and to bring about a real change in the legal status of Flemings within Belgium. Jacob was the extreme that brings the center into focus.

Flemings and Germans

The discontent of extremists like Jacob was nourished not only by the Flemish Movement but also by the pro-Flemish policies of Germany. German involvement in the Belgian language controversy dates back to the nineteenth century, to an era when German culture exerted strong magnetism on Flemings and Walloons alike. Young doctors completed medical training in Germany. Germany supplied many of the most eminent professors to Belgian universities[33]. Three *Deutsche Schulen* thrived in Brussels, Antwerp, and Liege, schools founded by German immigrants but patronized by Belgians also; and these schools had their own alumni groups as the nucleus for social organizations[34]. At the same time the Pan-Germanic Movement had begun to appeal to the sensibilities of Flemings. In the years just before World War I, the *Alldeutscher Verband* circulated millions of pro-German documents in Belgium[35]. The "sterk pangermanistische" program of the radical *Jong Vlaanderen* was no accident[36].

This Pan-Germanic Movement was initially based on mystical claims about the nature of German culture. The starting point was the myth of racial superiority, the idea that only the German "race" was young, powerful, capable of initiative, that only it — according to Bismarck — possessed "male qualities"[37]. This vision of race was accompanied by an image of a mystical bonding between physique and language. The existence of certain dialects, the dialect of American Negroes, for example, was cited as proof that the words of a language may be learned but that physiological factors make it impossible for pronunciation, grammar, and "spirit" to be transmitted to any but the racially elect[38]. That the Flemings spoke a dialect quite different from High German yet were recognized as Teutonic was an illogical byway which the ideology of linguistic physiology did not explore. What *was* explored, and in scholarly detail, was the unsatisfactory position of Flemings and the Flemish language — and the alarming decline in the number of speakers of Flemish during the 19th century in Belgium[39].

As the 19th century progressed, the mystical bond between race and language came to have political overtones. In 1850 Friedrich List wrote that the German race was designed by Providence to direct the affairs of the entire world, to civilize savage and barbaric people, and that this German race included all people who spoke Teutonic languages: the people of Switzerland and the Low Countries as well as the people of Germany[40]. In 1897 Fritz Bley compared the Teutonic people to five fingers on his hand all joined in organic as well as mystical unity: speakers of High German and Low German, the Boers, the Dutch, and the Flemings[41]. In an anonymous German pamphlet published in 1893, Flemings were pictured as a people whose renewed conscience would soon "accentuate their differences with the Walloons to the point where it will be necessary to come to a political schism in Belgium ... which will certainly oblige Germany to intervene"[42]. The message was unambiguous. Germany offered Flemings a linguistic homeland.

Flanders seemed like a Teutonic outpost waiting for rescue. It was not a perfect outpost to be sure, for it had been contaminated with French culture. But as Karl Lamprecht pointed out in 1913: "The civilization of the country, by origin and by all points culminating in its evolution, is functionally Flemish ... Flemings — really Germans — have a new culture, not equal to that of the past, not pure of Gallicisms but still a worthy renaissance". As the "hour of justice" approached, he was sure that Flemings would look to Germany[43]. On the eve of World War I, Germany had already made provision for Flemings to do so. Germans had infiltrated the Flemish Nationalist Movement. They regularly attended Flemish festivals. They even wrote in their press about Flemish men of note as if they were Germans[44].

In April 1916, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg announced to the Reichstag:

> Germany cannot abandon to Latin influence the Flemish people who have for so long been brought under subjugation. We still secure for them a sound development according to their resources, founded on the Flemish language and character[45].

He was articulating a political position. In Flanders Germany would accommodate local issues, promote the Flemish language, and adopt the posture of Flemish Separatists. Such posture included the setting up of separate administrative units for Flanders and Wallonia during the German occupation, an administrative arrangement which appeared to parallel the program of the *Jong Vlaanderen*, who had called in October 1914 for the establishment of an independent state named *België* where Netherlandish would be the only language — the language of administration, of legal proceedings, of education[46].

In dividing Flanders from Wallonia, the Germans appeared to have made the Flemish cause their own. That this was not the case we know by hindsight, by the records left by Germanophiles such as Dr. Loymeyer, Director of the *Deutsche Schule* in Brussels, who looked forward to the day when all of Belgium, both Flanders and Wallonia, would be tied to the German Empire[47]. That General von Bissing saw promotion of the Flemish cause as expediency, we also know by hindsight. For him the Flemish policy was a way of getting friends to join "the great circle of German world interest", but von Bissing had no doubt about the limitations of this policy. "Never must we lend a hand to make the Flemings completely independent"[48]. These reservations were not revealed to radical Flemings, however. For them German policies during the first World War represented liberation, and cooperation with Germany a logical route to self-determination. After all, Germany *had* made the claim that Belgium was not really a nation but was instead simply a diplomatic convenience in which lived two warring groups of different language, culture, and origin[49]. To these radical Flemings German policy looked like a response to "an old demand of the entire Flemish people" for "spiritual, economic, and social revival"[50].

To the rest of the Belgian people, however, the Flemish policy pursued by Germany looked like a calculated plan to destroy the Belgian nation, and Flemish Separatists like traitors. That Separatism was not a new concept, that Jules Destrée, a Walloon, had proposed the division of Belgium along linguistic lines before World War I, only made the situation all the more painful. Walloons and moderate Flemings now faced the actual existence of a separate Flanders, a Flanders kept in check by the German military authority, to be sure, but a Flanders where radicals had their own *Raad van Vlaanderen* to lay the foundation for the Flemish nation that was struggling to be born. That the Council of Flanders went much further than the Germans were prepared to see it go was scant comfort. The very fact of its existence threatened the Belgian nation, a fact well understood by the rest of the population. When members of the Council made a secret trip to Berlin in 1917 where they were photographed with Chancellor van Bethman-Hollweg, their picture appeared in the underground newspaper, *La Libre Belgique*, under the heading, "Treason"[51]; but the word *treason* connoted far more than *just* cooperation with the enemy. Never again could the idea of a Flemish nation be seen as an ideological premise too theoretical to be a danger to Belgium.

It was clear that the Council of Flanders took itself seriously. On December 22, 1917, it declared Flanders an independent nation[52]. Thereafter, it began to formulate plans for separate postal services, separate foreign services, separate customs, separate currency, and a separate army[53]. It even made plans to open Flemish universities at Brussels and Louvain to augment the *Vlaamsche Hoogeschool* opened by the Germans at Ghent[54]. These schemes did not reach fruition, but the fact that they existed at all — and were tolerated if not aided and abetted by the Germans — was reason enough for the rest of the Belgian people to formulate the equation: "Flandre ou Belgique"[55], during the dark days of World War I.

Treason and the Language of Education

That the concept of treason was intertwined with the language of education added fuel to the controversy. The German military government inaugurated a new chapter in the politicolinguistics of education in Belgium when it opened the *Vlaamsche Hoogeschool* at Ghent in 1916. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that a Flemish University at Ghent was not a German invention. It looked like one because only eight faculty members of the University of Ghent — theretofore a Francophone institution — remained on the faculty, so that the *Vlaamsche Hoogeschool* was staffed by Germans, Dutch, and radical Flemings like Antoon Jacob. But the idea of a Flemish University was an old dream, a dream almost as old as the Flemish Movement, which was supported by moderates and radicals alike.

There were Flemish literature courses at the University of Ghent as early as 1854, and perhaps a dream even at that early date of restoring Netherlandish to the position it had held as the language of the elite before the arrival of the Burgundians. Serious discussion of a Flemish university dates from 1896, however, when the poet, Pol de Mont, succeeded in having a committee appointed to study the issue at the 23rd Netherlandish Language and Literary Congress at Antwerp. In the years before the outbreak of World War I, an era when only 24 out of 248 courses were taught in Flemish, radicals led by Lodewijk de Raet gathered 100,000 signatures on a petition favoring an eleven year transition to an all-Flemish institution[56]. The Flemish University was an idea whose time had come. In opening the *Hoogeschool*, therefore, the Germans had seized upon an old dream, but one that was nowhere near fulfillment. That the Germans and their collaborators, the Activist Flemings, turned this dream into an embarressment — "een ongelukkige episode uit de strijd de Gentse Universiteit"[57], made its fulfillment in the postwar years all the more burning an issue.

During its existence the "Université Allemande de Gand", was the object of derision, accusation, and outrage — and not just because it was the handiwork of the Germans. The very idea that Flemish could challenge French as a language of civilization was widely viewed as a threat to the integrity of the social order. As the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Belgium pointed out in 1906:

> Quiconque comprend le rôle de université ... ne peut raisonnablement prétendre que le français et le flamand doivent être mis sur un pied d'égalité dans l'enseignement universitaire. Il est indispensable d'adopter pour les cours universitaires une langue internationale qui favorise le commerce avec les nations les plus influentes de la société[58].

As long as matriculation at a French-language institution was the prerequisite for membership in a Belgian power elite, social structures and institutions, including the institutions associated with the government of Belgium, would reflect the traditional language hierarchy. But these structures and institutions could not remain intact in a world in which a Flemish University would put its imprimatur on a generation of leaders. That such an imprint also reflected the will of a foreign invader only added insult to injury.

The situation was made all the more bitter by the German claim that the Flemish University actually represented legal redress of an injustice perpetrated by the Belgian nation itself:

> The previous use of French as the language of instruction in Ghent is not based on any law, but only on an ordinance of the year 1849, which could at any time be altered by a fresh decree on the part of the supreme authority of the country[59].

Not only were the Germans manipulating Belgian institutions, they were guilty of gross interference with the organic development of the country:

> Pour la première fois dans l'histoire, la frontière linguistique devenait une frontière politique. Le dogme simpliste qui identifie la nationalité avec la langue était imposé aux populations, sans qu'il fut tenu compte de leurs désirs ou de leurs intérêts[60].

The Flemish University challenged the very idea of a Belgian nationality. According to Henri Pirenne, "Quand ils ouvraient à Gand leur *Vlaamsche Hoogeschool* ... leur unique dessein était de détruire cette unité belge, cette conscience belge"[61] (when they opened their Flemish University at Ghent, ... their only plan was to destroy that Belgian unity, that Belgian conscience). But then, Pirenne had good reason to deplore the existence of this institution. A professor at the hitherto Francophone University of Ghent, he — along with his colleague Paul Fredericq — was arrested and deported to Germany for his refusal to join the faculty of the *Vlaamsche Hoogeschool*. Pirenne had reason to reject a German institution, whether or not it was based on an old dream of Flemish Nationalists; and patriotic Belgians, both Flemings and Walloons, agreed with him.

The Flemish University was a German creation, albeit a creation based on the radical vision of Flemish Activists. On the other hand, the attempt to impose a Flemish regime on the schools of Brussels during World War I was the work of Activist Flemings themselves — or rather the Section on Science and Art of the Council of Flanders, the committee which assumed responsibility for the implementation of Article 20 of the Education Act of 1914, which had called for use of the "mother tongue or usual language" of the child as the medium of instruction in the schools of Brussels. First, Richard de Cneudt, a member of the *Raad van Vlaanderen* and author of several books urging the expanded use of Flemish in the schools of Brussels, was appointed the Commissioner of Elementary Education. Thereafter, the committee made a series of controversial decisions. It would extend its authority to Catholic schools. It would enforce the provisions of Article 20 by using the birthplace of the child's parents rather than the family's usual language to determine the legal mother tongue, a geographical determination that would reflect the linguistic zones set up by the German occupier. It would demand a list of these birthplaces from beads of schools in Brussels. It would create a "linguistic police" to oversee the enrollment of children in their proper linguistic realm, the first conception of a language inspectorate in this particular role. It would demand — for "national and pedagogical reasons" — the complete abolition of French as a second language in elementary schools. It would mandate use of German instead of French as the second language in secondary schools, use of Flemish as the *only* language of instruction in the first year of elementary school, and abolition of subsidies for schools that did not comply. It would even suppress the Walloon section of the Normal School at Tirlemont[62].

Not all of these policies were implemented. Communal authorities refused to submit lists of birthplaces; the Germans refused to go along with plans to flamandize Catholic schools, thus avoiding a tangle with the Church[63]. But de Cneudt did send language inspectors to the communal schools of Brussels, an action which in itself was enough to cause patriotic Belgians, both Flemings and Walloons, to dissociate themselves from his policies. Said Louis Steens, Burgomaster of Brussels, "Je suis Flamand, et le flamand est ma langue maternelle; mais je ne le parle plus depuis la Constitution du Conseil de Flandre"[64]. In the years ahead when even moderate Flemings began to accept some of the premises that guided the Council of Flanders in its attempt to provide Flemish children in Brussels with a language in school that was also the basis for cultural identity, the uncomfortable fact that these premises were implemented during the war by Activists in collaboration with the enemy would continue to inflame the language controversy.

The Legacy of the Separatist Movement

A Flemish Nation Within Belgium

By the end of World War I, the idea of a Flemish nation had entered the consciousness of a wide spectrum of the Belgium population, but for most it was an idea that continued to connote disloyalty and that was accompanied with fear: "Y a-t-il un nationalisme flamand ayant pour but la disparition de la Belgique? Telle est la question qui empoisonne la politique belge depuis la guerre"[65]. Resistance to the Separatist Movement during the war was proof that one had remained "inébranlablement fidèle à la cause de la Patrie, une et indivisible'"[66] (unshakeably faithful to the cause of the nation, one and undivisible) at a time when Flemish Activists were "plus haïs et méprisés de leur compatriotes que les Allemands eux-mêmes'"[67] (more hated and scorned by their countrymen than the Germans themselves). Long after the Activists were tried for treason, convicted, jailed, and in some cases exiled, the issues remained alive. In 1929, over a decade after the war had ended, the American historian, Shepard Clough, was arrested in Belgium — his crime, associating with Activists-in-exile in the Netherlands[68]. During the same year, Pieter Geyl was not allowed to deliver a lecture at the University of Louvain because of his known sympathy for Flemish causes[69]. The scars left by the Separatist Movement during World War I did not heal easily.

The Separatists left another legacy: a conception of a new organization of the Belgian nation-state that influenced moderates and radicals alike. At one extreme was the *Frontpartij*, initially an organization of soldiers who protested service in an army in which commands were often given in French to Flemings. The *Frontpartij* proposed reorganization of Belgium into two semi-autonomous linguistic territories not unlike the federation envisioned by Jules Destrée before the war. But the *Frontpartij* went beyond Destrée. Not only would there be separate Parliaments, one for Flanders, one for Wallonia, that would join together only for absolutely essential business involving the federation. In the new world, the first loyalty would be a regional loyalty:

> Netherlandish will be the language used in Flanders ... In cases where the interests of the Belgian state would be incompatible with the free development of the Flemish people, we will be faithful to our people ... No one can serve Belgian unity and the ideal of our people at the same time[70].

At the other extreme, however, moderates had already begun to achieve a series of changes within the structure of the Belgian nation — but a Belgium that was gradually accommodating itself to a shift in the traditional linguistic hierarchy in response to the demands of an invigorated Flemish electorate. The Law of August 12, 1921, had called for use of the regional language in all state, communal, and subordinate services — Flemish in Flanders, French in Wallonia, both languages in Brussels. The Nolf Plan provided for the gradual flamandization of the University of Ghent between 1923 and 1930, and in 1930 Ghent emerged as the first official Flemish University in the history of Belgium. Between 1925 and 1927, Camille Huysmans, Minister of Science and Art, reformed the curriculum of state secondary schools in the Flemish area so that henceforth two-thirds of all courses would be taught in Flemish, thus ensuring a pool of students able to take advantage of the new regime at Ghent. As Louis Franck, Minister of State, noted: "Les classes populaires veulent reconquérir leurs élites"[71] (the masses wish to reconquer their elite), and in Flanders they had begun to do so. As the education of a Flemish elite in the mother tongue from elementary school to university became a realistic possibility, the establishment of a Flemish nationality, a subnation within Belgium if not an independent kingdom in its own right, no longer seemed so visionary a goal.

It was a goal not readily accepted by many Belgians. What would happen to Belgium if Flanders became "unilingue au même degré que la Wallonie"[72] (unilingual to the same degree as Wallonia)? A Flanders in which French was not part of daily life would be isolated from the rest of the world:

> Que la region flamande de la Belgique cultive et honore la langue flamande, nous n'y contredirons pas, nous y applaudirons même. Nous nous opposons seulement à la prétention de ceux qui veulent lui enlever la connaissance de la langue française, langue mondiale, nous mettant en rapport avec une grande partie du monde[73].

The transformation of Ghent into a Flemish university was a threat to national unity: "La création d'une Université flamande en Belgique n'était pas seulement inutile, mais elle est encore éminemment dangereuse, en mettant en péril l'existence même de la nation belge"[74]. The expansion of the Flemish regime in normal schools, the occasional use of Flemish at conferences of school personnel, brought forth bitter denunciations:

> Et voilà par quelles mesures on cherche en Belgique à réduire, à expulser cette belle langue française qui y régnait avec éclat et qui eut été la langue des Dieux, si elle avait fleuri aux temps sereins de l'Hellade antique ... *La langue française!* Mais son destin n'est-il pas associé à celui de la civilisation[75].

These complaints notwithstanding, the most notable development of the post-World War I era in Belgium was the very fact: that the position of French as the only language of civilization was indeed open to question.

Not that the shift in the traditional language hierarchy had gone far enough to please all Flemings. Professors of Dutch at the Normal School at Ghent complained of the low prestige attached to their language[76]. The Law of 1921 did not banish French from provincial and communal governments in the Flemish area, and many chose a bilingual regime for the conduct of their affairs. Schools north of the language line continued to offer a French-language education to Flemings as well as Francophones. In fact, schools in twenty-one cities in this area still had French-languages regimes at the time of the debate over the 1932 Language Law[77]. Nevertheless, enough change had taken place so that J.E. Verheyen reported to the International Conference on Bilingualism and Education in 1928:

> La politique de francisation par l'école a été arrêtée en grande partie, elle n'est plus poursuivie qu'à Bruxelles et dans quelques rares écoles et communes de l'agglomération bruxelloise[78].

Enough change had taken place so that J.E. Verheyen could claim that the use of schools as an agency for francisation was largely arrested — in Flanders, at any rate. Brussels was another story.

The Denationalisation of the Flemish Child in the Schools of Brussels

In Brussels, now an official bilingual administrative zone, since 1910 an official bilingual educational zone[79], the pattern of education for assimilation was thriving. Brussels was the city with the fastest growing Francophone population in the country[80], the city where Flemings migrated because its schools offered the French-language education that was beginning to disappear in Flanders. At the very moment, therefore, that Flemish Nationalists had hope of regaining their linguistic homeland, the city which some of them would like to have claimed as "de hoofdstad van Vlaanderen"[81] (the capital of Flanders) was fast becoming a "verfranchende" oil stain in which the "verbastering" of the language of Flemish children was aided and abetted by the schools, to use the terminology employed by Senator Lindekens on the floor of the Belgian Parliament[82]. Once a "carrefour de deux cultures"[83], Brussels now offered refutation to the very idea of a Flemish identity — to say nothing of a Flemish nationality — and in the process had become a "pomme de discorde"[84] to Flemings and Walloons alike.

Brussels schools, therefore, committed a fundamental crime against the idea of a Flemish nation. Brussels schools "denationalized" — to use the word that occurs again and again in the polemics of the language controversy — their Flemish students. They taught Flemish children to reject their mother tongue and those from whom they had learned it, and to adopt Francophone customs. They offered, in other words, a dangerous alternative to a generation that might have become leaders of a Flemish elite, an alternative which many of them were only too happy to accept:

> Le premier bienfait de l'école bruxelloise à mes enfants a été une tentative de les éloigner de moi par la langue. J'ai ainsi l'impression que Bruxelles brisera l'unité de mon foyer; par ses procédés de dénationalisation, mes fils se détourneront ... de moi[85].

True, "denationalization" was partially caused by the lack of opportunity for Flemish children to have an education in their mother tongue. There were not enough Flemish classes and their scarcity was the direct result of pro-Francophone policies on the communal level:

> Les administrations de ses communes pratiquent une politique scolaire de francisation à outrance, ratifiée d'ailleurs régulièrement par le corps électoral. Cette politique consiste dans le refus catégorique de créer la moindre classe flamande, fût-ce même dans les écoles ou dans les classes dont la majorité des élèves ne parlent que le flamand[86].

But it was also true that "denationalization" was taking place because Flemings themselves wished to see it happen. It was the father of the child who had the right to decide what was the "mother tongue or usual language", and "presque toujours le père flamand veut que son enfant soit instruit en français"[87] (and almost always the Flemish father wants his child to be instructed in French).

That this decision would be made by the "père de famille" was in itself an emotional issue inherited from another scholastic controversy, the "guerre scolaire" between church and state, which was by no means resolved by 1932[88]. The so-called "Loi scolaire" of 1893 had designated that only the father ought to choose whether or not the child would attend a state or a Catholic school. ("C'est le père de famille qui doit choisir"[89]).For Catholics this meant the right to select a religious education: "Le pivot du programme catholique a toujours été le droit des pères de famille — même en minorité — d'avoir une école de leur choix"[90]; for the school should be an extension of the home[91]. By 1932, however, "les droits des pères de famille" had also come to include the right to select the language of education, and the restriction of this right, "for the good of the child", a major goal of Flemish Nationalists and a major factor in the language controversy[92]. "Liberté de père de famille" had come to connote the ultimate act of treason against the idea of a Flemish nation.

Within this accusation of treason lay a more anguishing charge:

> Dénationalisation — mot barbare ... chose plus barbare encore à laquelle il faut mettre un terme au plus tôt, crime contre l'esprit, véritable mutilation intellectuelle de jeunes êtres qui ne sont pas formés. "Liberté du père de famille! " rêtorquera-t-on[93].

The schools of Brussels not only denied Flemings a nationality. They destroyed the spirit and mutilated the intelligence. As Nicolas Toussaint pointed out, and as many Flemish parents well knew, Flemings were disproportionately represented in classes for the retarded in Brussels:

> Le plus grand malheur pour un écolier de la ville Bruxelles, c'est d'être pauvre et flamand. Celui-là est certain d'échouer finalement dans une classe d'anormaux: 99% des anormaux sont pauvres et 85% sont flamand. Le seul moyen employé pour créer des anormaux et des arriérés pédagogiques consiste à confier l'enfant flamand à un instituteur qui lui parle exclusivement le français[94].

The ultimate treason against the Flemish nation, therefore, was a form of education which mitigated against the normal intellectual development of Flemish children — and in an era of mass education this would include children of average intelligence as well as the others.

That youngsters of average intelligence might find bilingualism in education overwhelming was hardly a unique insight among Flemish Nationalists. Paulinus of Pella had commented on the problem in the 4th century A.D.:

> Quae doctrine duplex sicut est potioribus apta
> Igeniis gemenoque ornat splendore peritos,
> Sic sterilis nimium nostri, ut modo sentio, cordis
> Exilem facile exhausit venam.[95].

Even T.R. Dawes, the Welshman who found so much to praise in the bilingual framework of Belgian education as it existed in 1902, had reservations about the impact of bilingual accommodations on Flemings, many of whom did not do as well as Walloons on the *concours général*. "The pupils are somewhat confused with the two languages, and there is a great mental effort in changing from one language to the other", an Antwerp school director told Dawes[96].

In the 1920's and 1930's, educators were not only concerned about the *difficulty* of a bilingual education. Their concern was the psychic damage such a program might inflict on the children who were exposed to it. The weight of pedagogical evidence seemed over whelming. In Antwerp a unilingual control group had outperformed their bilingual peers in the Brussels schools on tests probing knowledge of their mother tongue 66% to 21.2% in tests devised by J.E. Verheyen[97]. Nicolas Toussaint had conducted similar tests and come to similar conclusions[98]. Ovid Decroly took a somewhat different approach, correlating retardation in school with a general lack of linguistic aptitude[99]; but conventional wisdom tended to support Flemish Nationalists in their campaign for an education in the mother tongue. Bilingual education deprived Flemish children of their linguistic heritage, but even worse it deprived them of the tools needed for intellectual growth. They must have opportunity to go to their own schools and to use their own language for "raisons d'une saine pédagogie"[100]. This would be the cornerstone of the Flemish nation.

Notes

[1] J.-E. Verheyen, "Le bilinguisme en Belgique", *Le bilinguisme et l'éducation* — Travaux de la conférence internationale tenue à Luxembourg du 2 au 5 avril, 1928 (Geneva: Bureau International d'Education, 1929), p. 138. (The school and language question in Belgium is one of the problems which has always been and is still the object of discussions and of recent violent struggles. It dominates so to speak all other problems, and it is not an exaggeration to say that it literally poisons public life.)

[2] Vernon Mallinson, *Power and Politics in Belgian Education* (London: Heinemann, 1963), p. 104. Mallinson quotes Henri Charriat, *La Belgique Moderne* (Paris: Flammarion, Paris, 1910) for his claim that 40% of the residents of Flanders were illiterate in 1910 vs. 25% in Wallonia. Later (p. 131), Mallinson speaks of an overall illiteracy rate of 17% in 1910 and of 8.12% in 1930. The author has so far not found confirmation of these figures in official statistics.

[3] For a more detailed discussion of the economic relationship of Flanders to Wallonia in the years after World War I, see Shepard Clough, *A History of the Flemish Movement in Belgium* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), pp. 246-250.

[4] See Chapter I, footnote 47.

[5] Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* 7 vols. (Bruxelles: M. Lamertin, 1922-1932), 1:xi.

[6] Carlton, J.H. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), p. 61.

[7] Joshua A. Fishman, *Language and Nationalism*: Two Integrative Essays (Rowley, Mass. Newbury House, 1972), p. 61.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[10] Clough, *History of the Flemish Movement*, pp. 225-228.

[11] Pleading M. Bayart, Doc. A83, 177, p. 9. Quoted in European Court of Human Rights, *Case "Relating to Certain Aspects of the Laws on the Use of Languages in Belgium"*, 2 vols. (Strasbourg: Registry of the Court, Council of Europe, 1967-1968), 1:251.

[12] Clough, *Flemish Movement*, pp. 212-216.

[13] Arie Wolter Willemsen, *Het Vlaams-Nationalisme 1914-1940* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1958), p. 4, footnote.

[14] Leo Picard, *Geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche en Grootnederlandsche Beweging* (Antwerpen: De Sikkel, 1942-1959), 1:51.

[15] *Ibid.*, 1:55.

[16] *Ibid.*, 2:24.

[17] Antoon Jacob, Inleiding in *Briefwisseling van, met, en over Hendrik Conscience uit de Jaren 1837 tot 1851.* (Gent: W. Siffer, 1913), p. 1.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[20] Pieter Geyl, *From Ranke to Toynbee: Five Lectures on Historians and Historiological Problems*, Smith College Studies in History, no. xxxix (Northhampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1952), p. 48.

[21] Pieter Geyl, *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century: Part One 1609-1648* (London: Ernest Benn, 1961), p. 280.

[22] Willemsen, *Het Vlaams-Nationalisme*, p. 11.

[23] Clough, *Flemish Movement*, pp. 190-191.

[24] H.J. Elias, *Vijfentwintig Jaar Vlaamse Beweging 1914-1939* 4 vols. (Antwerpen: Der Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1969), 1:64.

[25] Willemsen, *Het Vlaams-Nationalism*, p. 27.

[26] Clough, *Flemish Movement*, 198-199.

[27] *Les Archives du Conseil de Flandre*, publiées par la Ligue Nationale pour l'Unité Belge (Bruxelles: Th. Dewarichet, 1929), p. 11. Hereinafter referred to as *Archives*.

[28] Elias, *Vijfentwintig Jaar Vlaamse Beweging*, 2:173.

[29] *Ibid*., 2:181.

[30] "Réparation", *Le Soir*, 10 septembre, 1940, p. 1.

[31] Pieter Geyl, "Looking Back", *Encounters in History* (New York: Meridian Books, 1961), p. 359. See also, Elizabeth Sherman Swing, "Flemings and Germans: Some Factors in the Closing of the University of Brussels in World War II," "unpublished article (1974).

[32] Geyl, "Looking Back", p. 359.

[33] Henri Pirenne, *La Belgique et la guerre mondiale* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), pp. 41-42.

[34] *Deutscher Schulverein in Brüssel* (Brussel: Tr. Rein, 1903).

[35] Jacques Pirenne, *La Belgique devant le nouvel équilibre du monde* (Bruxelles: C. Dessart, 1944), p. 49.

[36] Willemsen, *Het Vlaams-Nationalisme*, p. 16.

[37] Charles Andler, ed. *Collection des documents sur le pangermanisme* (Traduits de l'Allemand) 4 vols. (Paris, Louis Conard, 1915-1917), 1:169.

[38] *Ibid*., 1:184.

[39] See Karl Brämer, *Nationalität und Sprache im Königreiche Belgiën* (Stuttgart: Engelhorn, 1887).

[40] Friedrich List, *Gesammelte Schriften*, in Andler *Collection des documents*, 1:128-129.

[41] Fritz Bley, *Die Alldeutsche Bewegung und die Niederlande* in Andler, *Collection des documents*, 2:238.

[42] Andler, *Collection des documents*, 1:179.

[43] Karl Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte der Jüngsten Vergangenheit*, in Andler, *Collection des documents*, 4:165-166.

[44] Austin Harrison, *The Pan Germanic Doctrine, Being a Study of German Political Aims and Aspirations* (London & New York: Harper, 1904), pp. 163-164.

[45] Quoted in Fernand Passelecq, *Belgian Unity and the Flemish Movement* (London: Spottiswoode, Balantyne, 1916), p. 1.

[46] Willemsen, *Het Vlaams-Nationalisme*, p. 5.

[47] *Archives*, p. 480.

[48] General Freiherr von Bissing, *General von Bissing's Testament*, translation (London: T. Fisher, 1917), p. 20.

[49] Passelecq, *Belgian Unity*, p. 15.

[50] Christopher Nyrop, *The Imprisonment of the Ghent Professors. A Question of Might and Right. My Reply to the German Legation in Stockholm* (London-New York-Toronto: Hoddes and Stoughton, 1917), p. 83.

[51] *La Libre Belgique*, no 115, 1917, p. 1.

[52] *Archives*, p. 143.

[53] *Ibid*., p. 492.

[54] *Ibid*., p. 120.

[55] Passelecq, *Belgian Unity*, pp. 119-132.

[56] Clough, *Flemish Nationalism*, pp. 159-169.

[57] *Gedenkboek van de Rijksuniversiteit te Gent na een Kwarteeuw vervlaamsing 1930-31 — 1955-56* (Gent: Rijksuniversiteit, 1957), p. 37.

[58] Quoted in Raymond Derine, *Strijd om Leuven. Feiten en eisen.* (Utrecht: Ambo, 1967), p. 50. (Whoever understands the role of a university ... can not reasonably pretend that French and Flemish ought to be put on a basis of equality in university education. It is indispensable to adopt an international language for university courses which favors dealings with the most influential nations of society.)

[59] Nyrop, *The Imprisonment of the Ghent Professors*, p. 84.

[60] Henri Pirenne, *La Belgique et la guerre mondiale*, p. 29. (For the first time in history, the language frontier has become a political frontier. The simplistic dogma which identifies nationality with language was imposed on the population without taking into account their desires and interests.)

[61] Henri Pirenne, *Le pangermanisme et la Belgique* (Bruxelles: Maurice Lamertin, 1919), p. 29.

[62] *Archives*, pp. 119-122.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[64] Mina Martens, *et al.*, *Histoire de Bruxelles* (Bruxelles: Editions Universitaires, 1976), p. 433. (I am Flemish and Flemish is my mother tongue, but since the Council of Flanders I no longer speak it.)

[65] *Archives*, p. ix. (Is there a Flemish Nationalism having as a goal the disappearance of Belgium? Such is the question that poisons Belgian politics since the war.)

[66] *L'Univèrsité de Bruxelles 1909-1934* (Bruxelles: Scripta, 1934), p. 23.

[67] Georges Rency, *La Belgique et la guerre* 2 vols. (Bruxelles: Henri Bertels, 1927-1931), 1:98.

[68] Clough, *Flemish Movement*, p. vi.

[69] Geyl, "*Looking Back*", p. 360.

[70] *Ons Vaderland* (14 novembre 1919). Quoted in Léon van der Essen, "La question flamande", *La Belgique*. Collection du Flambeau *The Times* (Bruxelles: Lamertin, 1920), pp. 325-326.

[71] Louis Franck, *La nationalité belge et le mouvement flamand* (Bruxelles: Lamertin, 1931), p. 42.

[72] Père G.C. Rutten, "La Question linguistique en Belgique", *Etudes Sociales*, 1re Série, 21-22 (mars 1930): 1-45; reprinted (Liège: La Pensée Catholique, 1931), p. 31.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 38. (That the Flemish region of Belgium cultivates and honors the Flemish language we will not contradict; we will even applaud it. We only oppose the pretension of those who wish to remove from it knowledge of the French language, a world language which puts us in contact with a large portion of the world.)

[74] *La question flamande traitée par un Flamand. Exposé du problème linguistique en Flandre par un vieux gantois* (Bruxelles: J. Thomas, [1930]), p. 33. (The creation of a Flemish university in Belgium was not only useless, but it is also eminently dangerous, putting the very existence of the Belgian nation in peril.)

[75] *Gazette de Bruxelles*, 1923, quoted in Jacques Lepetit, *Ecoles libres et écoles officielles* (Bruxelles: Frameries, 1925), p. 259. (What measures they seek in Belgium to reduce, to expel, that beautiful French language which reigned there with brilliance and which might have been the language of the gods if it had blossomed in the serenity of ancient Greece ... *The French language!* But is not its destiny associated with that of civilization.)

[76] *Rapport sur la situation de l'instruction primaire en Belgique, 1927-1928-1929* (Bruxelles: n.p., n.d.), p. xlvi.

[77] *Annales Parlementaires* Chambre, 20 avril 1932, p. 1501.

[78] Verheyen, "Le bilinguisme", p. 139. (The policy of francisation by the school has been stopped in large part. It is no longer followed except in Brussels and in some rare schools and communes of the Brussels agglomeration.)

[79] Section 6 of the Education Act of 12 May, 1910, states: "In the city of Brussels and in the communes of Ixelles, Saint-Josse-ten-Noode, Schaerbeek, Saint-Gilles, Etterbeek, Laeken, Molenbeek-Saint-Jean, Keokelberg, Uccle, Forest, Anderlecht-Cureghem, and Jette-Saint-Pierre, the above regulations concerning the French language shall apply to persons whose maternal or usual language is French, while the regulation for Flemish shall apply to persons whose maternal or usual language is Flemish. The maternal or usual language shall be determined according to the declaration made by the head of the family."

[80] See Table 5, p. 105.

[81] *Het Belgisch federalisme*, door een Jong-Nederlander (Gent: Vijncke, 1931), p. 12.

[82] *Annales Parlementaires*, Sénat, 7 July, 1932, p. 1334.

[83] Marcel Laloire, *Au point vif de la question flamande. Bruxelles signe de contradiction* (Louvain: Editions Rex, 1931), p. 33.

[84] Jef van Wezemael, *Bruxelles. Trait d'union ou pomme de discorde* (Bruxelles: Le Rouge et le Noir, 1937).

[85] Jan Boon, Introduction, in Laloire, *Au point vif*, p. 11. (The first benefit of the Brussels school to my children has been an attempt to take them away from me by language. I have thus the impression that Brussels will break up the unity of my home; through its process of denationalization, my sons will turn away ... from me.)

[86] Nicolas Toussaint, *Bilinguisme et education* (Bruxelles: M. Lamertin, 1935), p. 40. (The administrations of its communes practice a scholastic politics of francisation to excess, ratified, furthermore, regularly by the electoral body. This politics consists in the categorical refusal to create at least one Flemish class even in the schools or in the classes in which the majority of the students speak only Flemish.)

[87] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[88] For a full account of the Church-State battle in education, see Mallinson, *Power and Politics in Belgian Education*.

[89] Recounted in *Annales Parlementaires*, (Chambre, 20 avril, 1932, p. 1500.

[90] Comte Renaud Briey, *La question flamande est une question flamande* (Bruxelles: Albert Dewit, 1930), pp. 6-7. (The pivot of the Catholic program has always been the right of the fathers — even minority fathers — to have a school of their choice.)

[91] Ed Jannsens, "Les droits de père de famille en matière d'éducation et d'enseignement", *Etudes Sociales*, 1re Série, 19-20 (février 1930): 10.

[92] *Annales Parlementaires*, Sénat, 1930-31, p. 1539.

[93] Wezemael, *Bruxelles*, p. 5. (Denationalization — barbaric word ... thing even more barbaric to which it is necessary to put a term as soon as possible, crime against the spirit, true intellectual mutilation of young beings who are not formed. "Liberté du père de famille", they will reply.)

[94] Toussaint, *Bilinguisme*, p. 13. (The greatest misfortune for a student in Brussels is to be poor and Flemish. That group is sure to be stranded in the end in a class for the retarded: 90% of the retarded are poor and 85% are Flemish. The sole means used for creating scholastic retardation is to entrust a Flemish child to a teacher who speaks to him only in French.)

[95] Quotation and translation in E. Glyn Lewis, "Bilingualism and Bilingual Education — The Ancient World to the Renaissance", in Bernard Spolsky and Robert L. Cooper, eds., *Frontiers of Bilingual Education* (Rowley, Mass: Newbury House, 1977), pp. 63-64. (To be asked to learn two languages is all very well for the clever ones, who get a double glory. For the average school boy like me, the need to keep up both languages is trying and exhausting.)

[96] R.R. Dawes, *Bilingual Teaching in Belgian Schools* (Cambridge: University Press, 1902), pp. 49-50.

[97] Verheyen, "Le bilinguisme", p. 143.

[98] Nicolas Toussaint, "Problèmes et expériences", *Le bilinguisme et l'éducation* — Travaux de la conférence internationale tenue à Luxembourg du 2 au 5 avril, 1928, p. 143.

[99] Ovide Decroly, "Réflexions et enquêtes à propos du bilinguisme", *Le bilinguisme et éducation*, p. 54.

[100] *Annales Parlementaires*, Chambre, 4 mai 1932, p. 1707.

CHAPTER V

THE UNBALANCED PIVOT

Introduction

Late in the fall of 1932, language inspectors from the *Ministère de l'Instruction Publique*, in compliance with the provisions of the Language Law of July 14, 1932, began a process that could have transformed the structure of schools in the city of Brussels: their task, the separation of students within state, communal, and private schools subsidized by the government into separate classes for those whose mother tongue or usual language was French and those for whom it was Dutch. This was by no means an easy categorization to make, nor one that readily stayed in place once made — as Belgians who were students in the schools of Brussels at that time can testify. One such student, now a faculty member of the Francophone *Université Catholique de Louvain*, was selected by the inspectors for enrollment in the Flemish regime when he was a first grader at the *Institut de Notre Dame* because the inspectors discovered "he could pray in Flemish", a categorization which enraged his Flemish parents, from whose social perspective only "children of peasants were enrolled in the Flemish classes". After a year in the Flemish regime, this student, with his parents' encouragement, "drifted back to the French-language class". He has lived in a Francophone world ever since[1].

Even the children of Flemish Nationalists did not always find themselves comfortable within their designated linguistic domain. Consider Livia Stijns, the daughter of intellectuals who took pride in their Flemish heritage:

> My parents were Flemish both by origin (with the exception of a Walloon mother on my father's side) and by inclination. They knew and appreciated French, but their home language was standard Dutch, the use of which they strongly advocated in public life and in education[2]

Nevertheless, Livia began her education in a French-language school in Brussels because there was no Netherlandish school close to home.

This was close to standard practice. Most of her close friends also came from Flemish homes in Brussels, a city whose bilingual heritage they had already assimilated with so little self-consciousness that they spoke French with one another outside of school as a matter of course. As Livia later explained it:

> Bilingualism in the Brussels area appears like an inextricable aggregate of components, each of which can be sensed in the city, in the homes, in the schools with varying degrees of intensity but rarely unalloyed. The environment, the various environments carried both languages in the bud, and I took in both without even being aware of it[3].

Later Livia enrolled in a Dutch-language regime in secondary school in accordance with the wishes of her parents and the regulations of the new (1932) language law; but outside the classroom she continued to feel more comfortable using French with her circle of friends than in using Flemish with classmates from rural Flanders whose French was less fluent. It was not that she wished to be snobbish, but she was also fully aware that the barriers between the two groups were social as well as geographical.

What is interesting about Livia's history — and symptomatic perhaps of the generation to which she belonged — is the fact that neither her parents' predilections nor a Dutch-language regime in secondary school and at the by-then flamandized University of Ghent could counterbalance the pull of Francophone culture. At Ghent "where lectures, friends, and environment were entirely Flemish", she nevertheless found a paucity of reading materials by Belgians in her field, philosophy, so that she formed the habit of looking to France for reading matter. Later when this daughter of Flemish Nationalists won a scholarship to study in France, she discovered that she "felt at home in both places". A few years later she was happy to take a job there and to "join the emigrant body", noting that such a decision was "a fairly common happening with Belgians when in search of something more inspiring than the national cult of work and comfort"[4]. That she justified her decision to leave Belgium by disparagement of societal rather than linguistic values does not hide the fact that she made a conscious choice that was consonant with her attitude toward French since elementary school days. For a *bruxellois* such as Livia, the centripetal traditions of the past were stronger than the centrifugal premises of the new language law.

The Language Law of 1932

The Need for a Linguistic Balance

The most important thing to remember about the Language Law of 1932 is that it was not an attempt to accommodate the idea of a Flemish nation, not an attempt to build the framework for two subnations, not an attempt to legislate for radical social change. It was instead a reactive piece of legislation, a response of the Belgian people to a threat it could no longer ignore:

> Le peuple flamand s'est organisé à la résistance qui s'est accentuée d'année en année et ainsi est née cette vaste organisation, connue sous le nom de mouvement flamand, ayant des ramifications jusque dans les plus petites communes, groupant toutes les forces vives du peuple depuis l'universitaire jusqu'à l'ouvrier et englobant sous des formes diverses toutes les activités de la vie d'un peuple. L'influence de ce mouvement, surtout depuis la fin de la guerre, est considérable[5].

The nation needed to defuse this Separatist threat, but it was not ready for radical social change. It was, however, ready to use the schools as an agency for a partial reform of the language structure: to use the schools to achieve an equilibrium between a unilingual Wallonia and a bilingual Flanders which had a Francophone ruling class and a Flemish populace, to use the schools to preserve the language and culture of Flemings in Brussels, to use the schools to educate for a bilingualism that would not lead Flemings to language loss. That existing schools might not accommodate these tasks without radical reconstruction was not the issue in 1932. The issue was equality between two langages which had had a long tradition of symbiotic but unequal functions.

Equality, however, demanded individual as well as group equilibrium. And Brussels, the bilingual center in which this equilibrium was most seriously out of balance (see Table 6), was to be the vital pivot mediating both the macro- and micro- cosm: macrocosm, because a country in which one region was bilingual, the other unilingual, was inherently unequal; microcosm, because the capital city, still a melting pot which turned Flemings into Francophones, exacerbated the national imbalance; microcosm, also, because individual bilingualism, primarily a Flemish burden, mirrored the unequal macrocosmic structure. Flemish Nationalists would have preferred a different role for Brussels, would have preferred that Brussels be made part of Flanders instead of retaining its bilingual status"[6]. But it was too late to relive the past. Brussels, no longer a Flemish village, would have to accommodate both Francophones and Flemings, but Flemings would no longer tolerate a Brussels that did not respect their linguistic domain.

TABLE 6

The Language of Unilinguals or the Language of Choice in Brussels: 1910, 1920, 1930

Year	Unilingual French or French Preference	Unilingual Netherlandish or Netherlandish Preference	Other
1910	19.3	45.7	5.00
1920	59.4	37.1	3.5
1930	63.4	33.00	3.6

SOURCE: *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique et du Congo Belge* 58 (Gand: Vanderpoorten, 1935), p. xxiii.

The Language Law of 1932, therefore, set out to achieve a delicate balance between territories, individuals, and languages. It did not wholly succeed, but it nevertheless introduced lasting change; for the premises on which it was based are still alive: the idea that a regional language takes precedence over all other languages in the schools of a designated geographical area, the idea of separate schools for Flemings and Walloons in Brussels, the idea of education for supplementary rather than complementary or replacive bilingualism. Even if the new law did not succeed, Belgian schools would never be the same again.

Regional Parity

The idea of a regional language was hardly new. Every education law since 1842 had called for use of the regional language as a medium of instruction in the elementary schools of Flanders and Wallonia – Netherlandish in Flanders, French in Wallonia. Nor was it new to differentiate between use of the regional language in the schools of these regions and use of the mother tongue in the schools of Brussels. Such differentiation was already explicit in the Education Act of 1914. What *was* new was the idea that geography should determine the language of education for *everyone*, even the children of linguistic minorities. Of course, the children of Flemish workers in Wallonia had had to learn French for generations, but the children of Francophones living in Flanders had not had to learn Flemish. Provisions for them to do so were, indeed, new.

Regional parity need not have provided the only model for linguistic reform. As Count Amédée pointed out in 1919, Belgium could have elected a bilingual road to national unity:

> Au point de vue national, du reste, cette pénétration réciproque des deux idiomes, ces rapports fréquents entre les deux races sont heureux et bienfaisants. Wallons et Flamands, plus rapprochés, sentent mieux qu'ils ont une même patrie. Mieux ils se connaissent, plus ils sympathiseront ... C'est ce que les Flamands ont compris depuis longtemps, et ce que les Wallons aperçoivent déjà[7]

But the majority of Walloons were at best ambivalent about this logical ideal. In 1932 Wallonia was still defiantly unilingual.

By 1932, however, even conservatives accepted the necessity for change in the social and linguistic structure of Flanders, where a ruling class did not possess even rudimentary knowledge of the language of the common people – a condition which could lead to serious economic repercussions. According to Père Rutten:

> Dans un pays essentiellement exportateur où les industriels luttent avec tant de clairvoyance et de ténacité contre des difficultés souvent ignorées du grand public, il est

> plus nécessaire qu'ailleurs de multiplier les points de contact et d'établir des relations cordiales entre les chefs d'entreprises et leurs ouvriers. Encore une fois, comment y arriver, si les uns et les autres ne parlent pas la même langue avec une égale facilité et si ceux qui sont instruits se contentent du fameux flamand dit 'usuel'[8].

Managerial bilingualism might cure economic ills.

Père Rutten even argued that bilingualism could lead to intellectual growth:

> Jamais les savants flamands n'ont sous-évalué l'incomparable apport scientifique, artistique et littéraire de la culture latine en général et de la culture française en particulier. Presque tous, d'ailleurs sont polyglottes comme leurs collègues des Pays Bas, et démontrent, par leur exemple que le cerveau s'enrichit de chaque langue nouvelle qu'il s'assimile[9].

And De Heer Clerkyx, a member of the *Kamer van Volksvertegenwoordigers* (House of Representatives), pointed to the pragmatic benefits of learning a language which could act as a bridge to other Teutonic tongues:

> It is not true that Walloons have no interest in learning Flemish. The linguistic domain of the Netherlandish language is not so narrowly circumscribed as was once claimed. This language is also understood in most Germanic countries, for it is the nature of the Germanic languages that some dialects show more resemblance to one another than to written or established languages ... and Netherlandish has close to a central position[10].

But for many Francophones the idea of learning the second national language provoked an emotional — and a negative — response:

> Voyez-vous cette tendance, avouée ou non, qui est de peupler l'enseignement de créatures flamingantes, d'extirper le français du pays flamand, d'enrayer complètement son influence de n'y plus accepter de Wallons; par contre de germaniser le Sud en nous imposant le bilinguisme et en y envoyant des Flamands[11].

The concept, therefore, of a regional language offered Francophones a ray of hope. *Bilingualism* need not mean universal acquisition of a second national language. It could also mean use of different languages in different sections of the country — French in Wallonia, Flemish in Flanders — a distinction already sanctioned by the *Loi du 31 juillet 1921* calling for use of the regional language in government:

> *'Bilinguisme'*, si l'on excuse ce mot barbare, a prévalu dans nos provinces pendant des siècles, non pas sous la forme de l'emploi simultané des deux langues dans tout le pays, mais sous les espèces beaucoup plus simples et rationnelles de l'administration de la région wallonne en français et la région flamande en flamand[12].

Nevertheless, Francophones in Flanders faced major dislocation if a regional language were to be imposed on their children. As P. Poullet, for *Ministre de l'Intérieur* and chairman of the *Commission Linguistique* which was preparing recommendations on the linguistic crisis, pointed out, linguistic minorities living in Flanders and Wallonia should expect their children to learn Dutch and French respectively and to look upon the language of their territory as of equal importance to their mother tongue[13].

The idea that language could be a function of geography was fundamental to the Language Law of 1932, the law which Nicolas Braunshausen called "l'expression presqu'idéale de l'unilinguisme dans un pays à deux langues"[14]. This new law called for the regional language to be the official medium of education — Dutch in Flanders, French in Wallonia — thus ensuring a mother tongue education throughout school for Neerlandophone children in Flanders and Francophone children in Wallonia. These children would be instructed in the second language also, but only in the modern language classroom starting in the fifth year of school and for only four hours a week. They would be educated, in other words, for mother tongue dominance, for supplementary rather than complementary bilingualism.

The children of linguistic minorities in Flanders and Wallonia, on the other hand, would encounter a pattern of education not unlike that experienced by generations of Flemings in Brussels:

> Le système en vigueur actuellement pour enfants flamands de Bruxelles, et qui a fait l'objet de certaines critiques, va être appliqué avec beaucoup plus de rigueur aux enfants francophones des Flandres[16].

They could begin school in the mother tongue, but would have to enroll in *transmutation* classes where they would learn the regional language as rapidly as possible[17]. Their mother tongue, in other words, would become a tool for learning the target language — an educational pattern designed to promote replacive rather than complementary bilingualism.

The Rejection of Bilinguals Schools

A design for linguistic balance within Brussels was even more complicated than a design for the establishment of an equilibrium between Flanders and Wallonia. For one thing, there was no ready consensus on what the identity of Brussels should be. Walloons and Francophone-Flemings would not readily sacrifice the tradition of free linguistic choice which had led to the growth of the Francophone community within the capital city: "Il importe que Bruxelles et la frontière linguistique soient et restent un terrain de fusion, de liaison s'opérant dans une atmosphère de liberté et de réciproque estime"[18]. Flemish Nationalists, on the other hand, were more than ready to argue that maintenance of *their* mother tongue was the major priority, that creation of additional classes for Flemish children was urgently needed[19], and that freedom *should* be restricted in Brussels[20] — arguments that would be repeated again and again for the next half century.

There was substantial agreement among Flemings and Walloons that the mother tongue should be the initial language of instruction in school. J.E. Verheyen had just published his study showing "sans aucun doute des preuves nouvelles de l'influence néfaste du bilinguisme sur la formation de l'esprit en général et sur l'évolution du langage en particulier"[21]. Nicolas Toussaint had just concluded that bilingual education not only led to retardation in school but also to other less visible problems such as fatigue, distate for learning, discouragement[22] and that children educated in bilingual schools demonstrated "un manque évident de compréhension de matière enseignée, mais aussi une grande indigence de pensées et conséquemment un raisonnement et un jugement peu évolués"[23]. Some educators such as Ovid Decroly were ready to recognize that for middle class children whose heredity, nutrition, and environment were favorable, especially girls, who seemed to have more linguistic aptitude than boys, a bilingual education might be less destructive than it was for the children of workers[24]. But even Nicolas Braunshausen, who wished to promote early bilingualism "au foyer", concluded that it was rare indeed to find a bilingual of genius-level talent[25].

The question of how to guarantee a mother tongue education to children living in a bilingual city was charged with emotion. "Il faut rejeter toute idée de mélange", stated Camille Huysmans in an appearance before the Belgian Senate[26]. Most educators agreed that children should begin school in their mother tongue; but there was less unanimity on the premise that followed: that Flemings and Francophones must be assigned to separate schools — or at the least to separate classes. Had Flemings the right to impose this pattern of education on third generation *bruxellois* who had completed a language shift — or on bilingual children whose parents preferred a French-language regime[27]? Would children be allowed to switch from one linguistic regime to the other[28]? Had a Flemish minority the right to dictate to a Francophone majority?

> Toutes ces dispositions consacrent le principe d'unilinguisme extrêmement dangereux au point de vue de l'unité de pays, favorisant la guerre contre les minorités en Flandre et la guerre par les minorités à Bruxelles[29].

How would schools provide education for bilingualism within this separatist framework? As Nicolas Toussaint pointed out: "Bilinguisme est un mal. Mais ce mal est parfois nécessaire"[30], and in a bilingual country education for bilingualism was still at least as important as education for mother tongue dominance. Of major concern in the national debate, therefore, was the question of *when* to introduce the second language and *how* to teach it. To begin too early was contrary to the pedagogical findings of the era. To postpone this study too long would penalize children who needed "l'étude approfondie de la seconde langue nationale" in order to pursue their careers. This was a much a political as it wan an educational issue, as witness the exchange that took place in House of Representatives on June 19, 1932:

> M. Bouchery: Vous savez très bien qu'il est antipédagogue de commencer trop tôt l'étude de la seconde langue.
> M. Petitjean: C'est une pure affirmation.
> M. Bouchery: Il y a l'expérience de dizaines d'années dans les Flandres.
> M. Huysmans: ... Moi, je suis partisan, par exemple, de ne pas commencer l'étude de la seconde langue avant le troisième degré.
> M. Piérard: Cette étude ne devrait pas commencer avant l'enseignement moyen[31].

The question of second language study was a particularly emotional issue for *Fransquillons*, Francophone-Flemings, many of whom called for a much more intensive French-language education than would be possible in schools limited to three to six hours of instruction a week. As M. Coelst pointed out in the House of Representatives, such a limitation would be detrimental to the further advancement of Flemish children; and as M. Ramsée implied in his rejoinder, this fact was of greater concern to Francophones with Flemish names than to almost anyone else:

> M. Coelst: Jamais il ne connaîtra la langue française. Il la connaîtra comme une langue étrangère, comme nous connaissons l'allemand et l'anglais.
> M. Ramsée: Vous représentez les Fransquillons de Bruxelles et personne d'autre[32].

Nevertheless, as the new law took shape, the distinction between past practices and future directions became more and more apparent. Whereas in the past the heads of families had had a virtual free rein in selecting "la langue maternelle ou usuelle", for the education of a child, now the school and a review board could challenge their language declaration[33]. Whereas in the past children had been free to move from one regime to another, now they were not — legally, at any rate. Whereas in the past Flemings had enrolled in bilingual classes or in classes which used their mother tongue as a transitional tool for learning French, now Flemings would enroll in schools using Netherlandish as the medium of instruction throughout[34].

There were inconsistencies, however, in the application of this new design. Educators and politicians alike promoted the virtues of the "direct method" in the modern language classroom: "La méthode directe est la meilleure" (the direct method is the best), stated M. Rubbens in the House of Representatives[35]. But in elementary schools this method could be used only a few hours a week, and only in the modern language classroom – in schools that conformed to the law, at any rate. In nursery schools, on the other hand, schools not covered by the language law, Flemish children could encounter the French language from the beginning; and those who did might never be enrolled in a Flemish regime[36]. There was a conflict between the need to educate for life in a bilingual community and the fear that bilingual education would lead to language loss; and the inconsistencies in the law were a mirror of this conflict.

In secondary schools there were similar restrictions on the use of the second language as mode of socialization. The new law did not expressly prohibit use of the second language as a medium of instruction in certain subjects, a curricular design found throughout secondary schools in Flanders prior to 1932, just the excessive practice of such a means of instruction. Flemings were to study French, Walloons Dutch, in secondary schools in Brussels; and this study was to be both rigorous and intensive but not too intensive: "Toutefois, l'organisation de cet enseignement ne peut avoir pour effet d'enlever à la langue maternelle la prédominance comme langue de l'enseignement"[37]. Nevertheless, the restriction of French-language instruction in Flemish schools on the secondary level was a source of bitter concern:

> Nous désirons ensuite, messieurs, que l'enseignement moyen donne à nos enfants une bonne connaissance de la langue française ... Avouez que ce serait à désespérer de nos établissements d'enseignement moyen si on ne parvenait pas à donner aux élèves un enseignement suffisant de la seconde langue[38].

Even before the law was passed, many *Fransquillons* proclaimed their unwillingness to pay the price for mother tongue dominance.

The Momentum of Linguistic Integration

The Failure to Achieve a Linguistic Balance

At this point we will pause to ask a fundamental question. How far did the Language Law of 1932 go toward the attainment of regional parity, toward the attainment of a stable Flemish community in Brussels, and toward education in the Brussels schools for bilingualism but not for language loss? According to the reports assembled between 1948 and 1954 by the Harmel Center (*Centre de recherche pour la solution nationale des problèmes sociaux, politiques, et juridiques en régions wallonnes et flamandes*), it did not really succeed in any of these objectives. Even in Flanders where more children *did* come to use Netherlandish as a language of instruction in school, Francophone and Flemish parents alike found ways to evade the law, either by sending their children to Francophone schools in villages on the language line, or by sending them to non-subsidized Francophone Catholic schools, or by enrolling them in the new *transmutation* classes[39]. Indeed, these *transmutation* classes, which were designed as transitional bilingual structures where minority children could learn the *landstaal*, soon became a popular subterfuge where children learned more French than Flemish[40]. By 1956 over 2014 children were enrolled in *transmutation* classes in Antwerp, 651 in Ghent, 505 in Louvain, 365 in Vilvoorde, 142 in Halle, 125 in St. Genèse-Rode[41]; and in Ganshoren, Evere and Ste-Agathe-Berchem on the periphery of Brussels, the number of *transmutation* classes more than doubled in the decade after World War II. (See Table 7)

The Language Law of 1932 produced neither macrocosmic nor microcosmic balance. Brussels was an unbalanced pivot to begin with, a Francophone city where Flemings had to learn French in order to survive. A Francophone city it remained. French was the public language, the language in which most marriages, births and deaths were registered. Flemish was used only in the home.

TABLE 7

Number of Transmutation Classes in Three Villages on the Periphery of Brussels 1947-48, 1949-50, 1953-54

Village	1948-49	1949-50	1953-54
Ste-Agatha-Berchem	8	11	19
Ganshoren	8	10	17
Evere	8	9	18

SOURCE: *Rapport Triennal, 1948-1949* (Bruxelles: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 1952), p. 164.

> Le neerlandais y est parlé surtout 'entre nous', à l'intérieur avec des amis et connaissances, mais chaque fois que l'on descend en rue, lorsqu'on circule dans la foule, lorsqu'on monte sur un tram ou qu'on entre en ville dans un magasin ou un café, on laisse la langue maternelle à la porte[42].

This was not only a Francophone milieu. It was a milieu "parfois antiflamande"[43].

In such a milieu only a few parents had an interest in enrolling their children in Netherlandish classes — Flemish Nationalists, or "honest people", a small minority. Flemish classes had a stigma attached to them and were apt to be undersubscribed:

> Mais la plupart des sections flamandes, qu'elles soient communales ou libres, de cette région, sont très souvent d'importance très réduite, une ou deux classes comprenant chacune plusieurs divisions et généralement peu d'élèves[44].

Even those parents who wanted to educate their children in a Flemish regime often could not do so because no Flemish classes could be found. According to the *Rapport Triennal*, in the years after World War II there were no Flemish classes at all in Ixelles, Etterbeek, and St. Josse-Ten-Noodes: "Dans ces communes la loi linguistique n'est pas observée"[45]. More classes existed in communes closer to the Flemish areas, but the burden of finding a Flemish class was on the shoulders of the Flemish parent, not on those of school administrators.

There was another reason for the failure of the 1932 law to reverse the language shift. For a bilingual child, either French or Flemish was the "usual" language, and the law allowed the parents of bilingual children freedom to select either school regime. Brussels was a city where "les enfants deviennent bilingues"[46], a city of bilingual children whose parents spoke Flemish at home, children who discovered in many subtle ways that French was the dominant language. The most important lesson came when the child's father opted for a French-language school:

> Le processus de francisation des enfants flamands commence déjà au foyer. Les amis de la maison choient l'enfant en français. Les petits camarades à la maison et dans la rue suivent ... Lorsque l'enfant flamand doit aller à l'école et arrive en première année primaire ou préparatoire, le chef de famille flamand use largement de sa liberté pour mettre son enfant bilingue dans une classe française[47].

In 1947 De Heer Rumes, a language inspector and a Fleming, lamented the freedom of parents to select the language of education for their bilingual children, a freedom based on the idea that parental wishes should be determinate in the case of balanced bilinguals: "Il n'existe pas d'enfants parfaitement bilingues: on n'a qu'une seule langue maternelle et une langue domine généralement, c'est le flamand"[48]. But his recommendation that bilingual children be enrolled only in schools that teach the language of the home was a minority voice. His colleague, H. Burniaux, a Francophone, saw the issue differently. Mme Burniaux insisted that it was difficult if not impossible to determine the language dominance of many bilingual children and that children of Flemish background frequently preferred French:

> Ces enfants suivant les circonstances, s'expriment spontanément soit en français, soit en flamand, et nous avons vu durant l'occupation, des élèves contraints par les contrôleurs linguistiques de suivre des cours d'une classe à régime néerlandais, parler le français au cours des récréations ou des promenades[49]

Even when the child was not an accomplished bilingual, it was not uncommon for the father to make out a language declaration "exprimant non un fait mais un désir"[50]. According to reports received by the Harmel Center, parents even coached their children to pretend not to know Flemish when the language declaration was presented to the school principal[51]. As the *Rapport Triennal* for 1948-1950 noted:

> La réalité n'est pas toujours conforme à la régle. Dans bons nombre d'écoles, le classement des élèves, dans la section correspondant à leur langue maternelle, n'est pas réalisé complètement suivant le voeu de la loi[52].

Even in questionable cases the school principal who was supposed to verify the language declaration was likely to accept the family's wish — in part because parents had discovered an ultimate weapon: "Si mon enfant n'est pas admis dans une classe française, je l'envoie à l'école catholique"[53]. The parent could always send the child to a non-subsidized school that did not have to obey the language law[54]. Small wonder the language shift continued unabated!

Among only one segment of the population did the law have an impact, but not a lasting impact even there. Dutch would be taught in French-language schools on exactly the same basis that French was taught in Flemish schools. Walloons, to be sure, were outraged at the imposition of this parallel curriculum. As the *Fédération de Bruxelles du Mouvement "La Wallonie Libre"* pointed out, the idea that two languages could be of equal importance might be true for Flemings, but it was heresy for Walloons. *La Wallonie Libre* claimed that premature study of a second language was a threat to intellectual development, that time spent on second language study in the primary grades deprived Francophone children of opportunity to perfect knowledge of their own tongue, and that those who left school after completing only the sixth grade might never know either language well. "La connaissance parfaite du français constitue pour nous, Français de Bruxelles, l'élément de base de notre intellectuelle et même scientifique"[55].

Walloons were particularly indignant over the stipulation that all teachers prove "une connaissance approfondie de la langue de son enseignement"[56]; for the *Arrêté royal* of September 12, 1933 had stipulated that national languages be taught in Brussels on the same level as in Flanders and Wallonia and that candidates for a normal school diplome take a supplementary language examination to demonstrate their knowledge of the second language. On October 3, 1933 forty-nine candidates from the Normal School of Brussels presented themselves for the Flemish "examen supplémentaire". Only eleven passed, a situation which elicited an emotional response from M. Huisman van den Nest, *Echevin de l'Instruction publique au Conseil communal,* who blamed the "caractère excessif" by which the new law was executed for the "modalites" of the examination and pointed out the stark consequences:

> Le Gouvernement établit une confusion totale entre l'instituteur qui placé à la tête d'une classe flamande, devra enseigner toutes les branches en flamand, et celui qui, dans une classe française, donnera toutes ses leçons en français, sauf le 3 à 6 heures par semaine qu'il consacrera au flamand, comme seconde langue, conformément à la loi[57].

For Walloons, at any rate, the ideal of a reciprocal bilingualism was neither desirable nor attainable. No question but that Walloon schools would continue to educate for mother tongue dominance.

The Reality of School Structures in Brussels After 1932

Despite the addition of Netherlandish as a second language to the curriculum of Francophone elementary schools where it had not been taught before, the 1932 law did not change the structure of schools in Brussels in a fundamental way. Even bilingual classes — the classes that were the most conspicuous target of the language legislation — did not wither away as intended. The law called for separate educational structures for Flemings and Walloons, yet bilingual classes persisted for thirty years after its passage. The number of bilingual classes, classes in which the teacher taught first in one language, then in the other, did decline after passage of the 1932 law. In communal schools, for example, the number of bilingual nursery school classes declined from 80 to 42 between 1929 and 1939, the number of bilingual primary classes from 277 to 131. And during World War II, when the Germans forced a transfer to 7711 students into the Flemish regime[58], they declined even further: to 35 bilingual nursery school classes and 28 bilingual primary school classes by the end of the war. Thereafter, however, their numbers doubled. (See Table 8) Clearly bilingual classes were a living tradition that continued to grow despite the Language Law of 1932 — or possibly because of it.

TABLE 8

Number of Flemish Classes and Classes
with Two Linguistic Sections in Communal
and Subsidized Elementary and Nursery Schools in Brussels
1928-29, 1938-39, 1945-46, 1949-50

Year	Nursery Schools		Primary Schools	
	Flemish Classes	Classes with Two Sections	Flemish Classes	Classes with Two Sections
1928-29	91	80	338	277
1938-39	99	42	460	131
1945-46	131	35	722	28
1949-50	124	85	567	48

SOURCE: *Rapport Triennal, 1945-47* (Bruxelles: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 1948), p. 140. *Rapport Triennal, 1948-49* (Bruxelles: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 1952), p. 162.

At least some of the new bilingual classes were inaugurated as a way of accommodating Flemings without forming a separate class for only a handful of students[59], a device that was *very* unpopular with the parents of the Walloon children enrolled in the same class — for many of the same reasons that Flemings had objected to this pattern of education in the past. According to *La Wallonie Libre:*

> Il est incontestable que cette méthode qui consiste à enseigner à la fois à des enfants qui ne possèdent aucune formation linguistique deux langues aussi différentes étymoligiquement et grammaticalement que le flamand et le français, est indéfendable au point de vue pédagogique. Ce procédé a pour résultat que si les élèves en passant aux études moyennes, possedant des rudiments négligeables de la langue flamande, ils se trouvent dans leur langue maternelle en état d'infériorité déplorable[9]".

Such classes were not the only example of the perpetuation of past practices in the schools of Brussels. Even more common than the class taught in a "mélange" of both languages was the unilingual Francophone class containing bilingual Flemings. In 1947, 65% of the bilingual children in Brussels were enrolled in French-language schools -- this in spite of German policy during World War II of enrolling Flemish children in the Flemish regime. In 1950 81% had opted for this pattern of education. (See Table 9) When a choice was possible, the subordinate language group continued to select a "language of civilization" rather than education for mother tongue dominance.

TABLE 9

Bilingual Students Enrolled
in State Schools in Brussels
Between 1947 and 1950

Year	French Schools	Dutch Schools
1947-48	65.19%	31.81%
1948-49	72.09%	27.91%
1949-50	81.38%	18.62%

SOURCE: *Rapport Triennal, 1948-49* (Bruxelles: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 1952), p. 214.

Determination of the extent to which this pattern of language preference had an impact on school structures is partially a question of whose figures we examine. The *Ministère de l'Instruction Publique* recorded only minimal change in the enrollment in the Flemish and Francophone schools between 1933 and 1953 -- proof, at any rate, that the law had not made fundamental change in old structures. (See Table 10) In the report of the Harmel Center, on the other hand, a somewhat different pattern begins to emerge. Because of German policies, enrollment in the Flemish regime of preparatory schools *did* increase during World War II, but there was a dramatic decline immediately after the war. (See Table 11) At *Ecole Moyenne de l'Etat pour Garçons a Bruxelles II*, the percentage declined from 46.94% to 25.28% between 1943 and 1949; at the *Athenée Royal de Koekelberg*, from 29.59% to 24.91%; at the *Ecole Moyenne de l'Etat pour Filles à Molenbeek*, from 23.62% to 20.41%; at the *Ecole Moyenne de l'Etat pour Garçons à Molenbeek*, from 34.11% to 25.08%; at the *Ecole Moyenne de l'Etat pour Filles à Schaerbeek*, from 20.06% to 12.87%; at the *Ecole Moyenne de l'Etat pour Garçons à Schaerbeek*, from 23.53% to 13.78%. A curious footnote to this trend is the fact that more girls than boys tended to select a French-language education. (See Table 12) But even allowing for this educational anomaly, Flemish Nationalists had no reason to find comfort in the direction school structures were evolving.

TABLE 10

Percentage of School Population Enrolled in French and Flemish Regimes in State Schools 1933-34, 1946-47, 1949-50 and 1952-53

Year	Secondary Schools		Preparatory Schools	
	French	Flemish	French	Flemish
1933-34	94.12	5.88	93.75	6.25
1946-47	82.81	17.19	90.47	9.53
1949-50	82.87	17.12	91.32	8.68
1952-53	84.19	15.81	90.64	9.36

SOURCE: *Rapport Triennal, 1945-47* (Bruxelles: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 1948), pp. 145-147. *Rapport Triennal, 1948-50* (Bruxelles: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 1952), pp. 217, 225. *Rapport Triennal, 1951-53* (Bruxelles: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 1953), p. 250.

TABLE 11

Percentage of Students Enrolled in the Flemish Sections of Selected Preparatory Schools 1933-34, 1942-43, 1948-49

Schools	1933-34	1942-43	1948-49
Ecole moyenne de l'Etat pour garçons Bruxelles II	43.18	46.94	25.28
Athenee Royal de Koekelberg	- - -	29.59	24.91
Ecole moyenne de l'Etat pour filles a Molenbeek	10.20	23.62	20.41
Ecole moyenne de l'Etat pour garçons a Molenbeek	32.58	34.11	25.08
Ecole moyenne de l'Etat pour filles a Schaerbeek	- - -	20.06	12.87
Ecole moyenne de l'Etat pour garçons a Schaerbeek	8.04	23.53	13.78

SOURCE: Centre de recherche pour la solution nationale des problémes sociaux, politiques et juridiques en regions Wallones et Flamandes, Document no. 18, pp. 29-30.

TABLE 12

Comparison of the Number of Flemish Classes for Boys and for Girls in Selected Brussels Schools in 1950

Schools	Sex	Number of Flemish Classes
Ecole 64, rue Felix Sterckx	Boys	2
Ecole 72, rue Felix Sterckx	Girls	0
Ecole 62, rue de Verdun (Haren)	Boys	7
Ecole 70, rue de la Paroisse (Haren)	Girls	0
Ecole 66, Laeken	Boys	4
Ecole 71, Laeken	Girls	1
Ecole 168, Forest	Boys	5
Ecole 169, Forest	Girls	2
Ecole 284, Schaerbeek Helmet	Boys	3
Ecole 285 Schaerbeek-Helmut	Girls	0

SOURCE: Centre de recherche pour la solution nationale des problémes sociaux, politiques et juridiques en régions Wallonnes et Flamandes, Document no. 153, p. 5.

We may conclude, therefore, that the Language Law of 1932 had only limited success in effecting social change. Its greatest impact was in Flanders where two decades after its passage a generation had indeed attended Flemish schools; but even so, a Francophone upper class still lived there and still managed to educate its children in French. And in Brussels where the language of the school should have been the mother tongue, Flemings continued to send their children to French-language schools. In Brussels the language shift continued despite the new law.

By the early 1950's it was possible to delineate the shape of the coming struggle within the capital city. Flemish Nationalists such as A. Vranckx called for curtailment of *liberté du père de famille* and for the development of a separate Flemish identity group[61]. Radical Francophones such as René Bourgeois defended parental free choice but were also ready to call for more separatism, even for division of the Ministry of Education into linguistic regimes[62] *Fransquillons* such as A.-A. Bilsen, on the other hand, wished to preserve the unique bilingual identity of Brussels[63]. Each of these mutually exclusive positions represented a logical development in the evolution of Belgium's centripetal-centrifugal traditions, but each also represented a more explicit level of polarization than had existed before. Brussels was at best an unbalanced pivot.

Notes

[1] Conversation with Albert Verdoodt, Leuven, June 24, 1976.

[2] Livia Stijns, "Acquiring a Second Language in Brussels: a Case Study in Bilingualism", *Foreign Languages in Primary Education: The Teaching of Foreign Languages to Younger Children.* Report on an International Meeting of Experts, April 9-14, 1962. *International Studies in Education* (Hamburg: Unesco Institute for Education, 1963), p. 91. This article was published in English.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

[5] J.E. Verheyen, "Le bilinguisme en Belgique", *Le bilinguisme et l'éducation*, travaux de la conférence internationale tenue à Luxembourg du 2 au 5 avril 1928 (Geneva: Bureau International d'Education, 1929), p. 138. (The Flemish people have organized resistance which is growing year by year, and thus is born that vast organization known by the name of the Flemish Movement, having offshoots in the smallest villages, embracing the energy of people from university professor to worker and containing under its diverse forms all activities in the life of a people. The influence of this movement has been marked, particularly since the war.)

[6] Fernand Schreurs, "La réorganisation de l'Etat Belge", Centre de recherche pour la solution nationale des problèmes sociaux, politiques, et juridiques en régions wallonnes et flamandes (Harmel Center), no 264, p. 1. The Vos Project called for two states, Flanders and Wallonia, each with an identical constitution, each governed by a House of Representatives and a Senate. Brussels would be the capital of Flanders. All that would be left of the unified state would be a central agency administering such matters as foreign affairs, postal service, money, transport, etc.

[7] Comte Amédé Visart, *La Belgique bilingue* (Bruxelles: Desclée, De Brouwer, 1919), p. 83. (From the national point of view, this reciprocal borrowing from the two idioms, these frequent interchanges between the two races are happy and beneficial. Walloons and Flemings brought closer together recognize that they have the same country. The better they know each other, the more they will sympathize ... This is what Flemings have known for a long time and what Walloons are just recognizing.)

[8] Père G.C. Rutten, "La Question linguistique en Belgique", *Etudes Sociales* 1re Série, 21-22 (mars 1930): 21. (In an essentially exporting country in which manufacturers struggle with so much foresight and tenacity against great difficulties often unknown to the great public, it is more necessary then ever before to multiply the points of contact and to establish cordial relationships between the heads of businesses and their workers. Yet how do we do this if one and the other do not speak the same language with the same facility, and if those who are educated content themselves with the famous Flemish called "usual".)

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 13. (Flemish scholars have never undervalued the incomparable scientific, artistic, and literary contribution of Latin culture. Besides, nearly all are multilingual like their colleagues in the Netherlands and show by their example that the brain enriches itself with each new language which it assimilates.)

[10] *Annales Parlementaires*, 9 juin 1932, p. 2009. ("Het is niet waar dat de Walen geen belang kunnen hebben bij de kennis van het Vlaamsch. Het spraakgebied van de Nederlandsche taal is niet zoo eng begrensd als weleens words beweerd. Deze taal wordt ook verstaan in de meeste Germaansche landen want het is een eigenaardigheid van het

Germaansche taalwezen dat sommige dialecten meer gelijkenis van elkander vertonen dan de aldaar gevestigde geschreven of gekunstelde talen en leder weet dat het Nederlandsch nagenoeg een middenplaats inneemt.")

[11] Jacques Lepetit, *Ecoles libres et écoles officielles* (Bruxelles: Frameries, 1925), p. 259. (Do you see this tendency, acknowledged or not, to populate education with Flamingants, to root out French from Flemish territory, to abate its influence by not accepting Walloons; instead to Germanize the south, imposing bilingualism on us and sending Flemings there.)

[12] Louis Franck, *La nationalité belge et le mouvement flamand* (Bruxelles: Lamertin, 1931), pp. 9-10. ('Bilingualism', if one will excuse this barbaric word, has prevailed in our provinces for centuries, not under the form of the simultaneous use of two languages in the entire country, but in the simpler and more rational form of the administration of the Walloon region in French and the Flemish region in Flemish.)

[13] *Annales Parlementaires*, Sénat, 11 mai 1932, p. 1726.

[14] Nicolas Braunshausen, *Le bilinguisme et les méthodes d'enseignement des langues étrangères* (Liège: G. Thone, 1933), p. 18. (The almost ideal expression of unilingualism in a bilingual country.)

[15] *Ibid.*, Articles 3, 10, 16. If heads of families representing twenty-five children demanded it, a course in the second language could be organized as early as the third year of school.

[16] *Annales Parlementaires*, Chambre, 20 avril 1932, p. 1501. (The system actually in force for Flemish children of Brussels and which is made the object of certain criticisms is going to be applied with much more rigor to the children of Francophones in Flanders.)

[17] *Loi du 14 juillet 1932*, Article 2, 15.

[18] *Annales Parlementaires*, Sénat, 3 novembre 1931, p. 1538. (It is important that Brussels and the language line be and remain an area of fusion, of liaison, operating in an atmosphere of freedom and of reciprocal esteem.)

[19] See for example, De Heer Poncelot, *Annales Parlementaires*, Chambre, 20 avril 1932, p. 1498.

[20] *Annales Parlementaires*, Chambre, 19 juin 1932, p. 2025.

[21] J.E. Verheyen "Le bilinguisme en Belgique", p. 144. (... without any doubt new proof of the fatal influence of bilingualism on the education of the spirit in general and on the development of language in particular.)

[22] Nicolas Toussaint, *Bilinguisme et éducation* (Bruxelles: M. Lamertin, 1935), p. 15.

[23] Toussaint, "Problèmes et expériences", *Le bilinguisme et l'éducation*, travaux de la conférence, p. 150. (... an evident lack of comprehension of the material taught, but also a great poverty of thought and consequently little development of reasoning and judgment.)

[24] Ovid Decroly, "Réflexions et enquêtes à propos du bilinguisme", *Le bilinguisme et l'éducation*, pp. 53-61.

[25] Nicolas Braunshusen, *Le bilinguisme et les méthodes d'enseignement des langues étrangères* (Liège: G. Thone, 1933), p. 43.

[26] *Annales Parlementaires*, Sénat, 4 mai 1932, p. 1703. (It is necessary to reject every thought of a mixture.)

[27] *Annales Parlementaires*, Chambre, 11 mai 1932, p. 1739.

[28] *Annales Parlementaires*, Chambre, 9 juin 1932, p. 2024.

[29] *Annales Parlementaires*, Chambre, 20 avril 1932, p. 1502. (From the viewpoint of a unified country, all these services sanctify the extremely dangerous principle of unilingualism, favor the war against the minorities in Flanders and the war by the minorities in Brussels.)

[30] Toussaint, *Bilinguisme et éducation*, p. 295. (Bilingualism is evil. But this evil is sometimes necessary.)

[31] *Annales Parlementaires*, Chambre, 10 juin 1932, p. 2034.

(M. Bouchery: You know very well that it is against educational principles to begin the study of the second language too early.
M. Petitjean: That's just an assertion.
M. Bouchery: There are dozens of years of experience in Flanders.
M. Huysmans: ... I myself favor, for example, not beginning study of the second language before the third degree.
M. Pierard: That study ought not to begin before secondary school.)

[32] *Annales Parlementaires*, 9 juin 1932, p. 2023.

(M. Coelst: He will never know the French language. He will know it like a foreign language, as we know German and English.
M. Ramsee: You represent the Fransquillons of Brussels and no one else.)

[33] *Loi du 14 juillet 1932*, Articles 7, 20.

[34] *Ibid.*, Articles 5, 12, 18.

[35] *Annales Parlementaires*, Chambre, 9 juin 1932, p. 2010.

[36] *Annales Parlementaires*, Sénat, 7 juillet 1932, p. 1342.

[37] *Loi du 14 juillet 1932*, Article 13. (However, the organization of this curriculum cannot have the effect of removing the mother tongue as the dominant language of education.)

[38] *Annales Parlementaires*, Chambre, 9 juin 1932, p. 2010. (We want next, sir, that secondary education give our children a good knowledge of the French language ... Recognize that it will demoralize our secondary schools if they have not succeeded in giving their students sufficient training in the second language.)

[39] M. de Baere, "L'application de la loi du 14 juillet 1932 dans les établissements d'enseignement moyen et son influence sur les connaissances linguistiques des élèves", Centre de recherche, no 18, p. 14.

[40] Nevertheless, a generation of Flemings *did* attend schools in which Netherlandish was the language of education, including several whom the author met who transferred to Netherlandish high schools from transmutation classes. Conversation with Mme Lercangée July 1976, and with Mevrouw Dehennin, July 1976, Brussels.

[41] *De Transmutatie Klassen* (Brussel: August Vermeylen-Fonds, 1956), pp. 15-16.

[42] Baere, "L'application de la loi du 14 juillet 1932", p. 24. (Netherlandish is spoken above all by ourselves at home with friends and acquaintances, but each time that one goes out on the street, when one citculates in a crowd, when one gets on a streetcar or goes into a store or café in the city, one leaves the mother tongue at home.)

[43] *Ibid*.

[44] M. Vansiliette, "Note concernant la répartition des classes primaires et gardiennes de langue flamande dans l'agglomération bruxelloise", Centre de recherche, no 153, p. 2. (But the greater number of Flemish sections, whether they be communal or free [private schools] of this area are very often of a reduced importance, one or two classes, each containing several divisions and usually few students.)

[45] *Rapport Triennal* 1948-1950 (Bruxelles: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 1952), p. 160. (In these communes the language law is not obeyed.)

[46] Baere, "L'application de la loi", p. 22. (... the children become bilinguals.)

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 24. (The process of francisation of Flemish children begins at home. Friends talk to the child in French. Little friends at home and in the street follow ... When the Flemish child has to go to school and appears in first grade in primary or preparatory school, the head of the Flemish family makes liberal use of his freedom to put his bilingual child in a French class.)

[48] "Note du secrétariat", Centre de recherche, no 11, p. 2. (No perfectly bilingual children exist. Each has only one mother tongue and one tongue generally dominates — Flemish.)

[49] "Rapport annuel de l'inspection linguistique synthèse des rapports fournis au cours de l'année scolaire 1948-1949", Centre de recherche, no 9, p. 8. (These children, following the circumstances, express themselves spontaneously whether in French or in Flemish, and we have seen during the occupation, students, forced by the constraints of the language control to follow classes in the Netherlandish regime, speak French during recess or on walks.)

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 3. (... expressing not a fact but a desire.)

[51] Baere, "L'application de la loi", p. 24.

[52] *Rapport Triennal* 1948-1950, p. 159. (Reality had not always conformed to regulations. In a good number of schools, the classification of students in the section corresponding to their mother tongue does not conform to the desire of the law.)

[53] Baere, "L'application de la loi", p. 24. (If my child is not admitted to a French class, I will send him to a Catholic school.)

[54] *Rapport Triennal*, 1948-1950, p. 159.

[55] La Wallonie Libre, "Réponse à l'appel publié dans la Presse", Centre de recherche, no 26, p. 3. (The perfect knowledge of French constitutes for us, the French of Brussels, the foundation of our intellectual and even our scientific development.)

[56] *Loi du 14 juillet 1932*, Article 26.

[57] *Bulletin Ligue de l'Enseignement* 69, no 5 (octobre 1933): 107-108. (The government establishes a total confusion between the teacher who, placed at the head of a Flemish class, must teach all subjects in Flemish, and he, who in a French class, will give all his lessons in French except for the three to six hours a week that he will devote to Flemish as a second language in conformity to the law.)

[58] René Bourgeois, "Journée d'étude consacrée à l'enseignement, organisée le 12 février 1950 à Bruxelles", Centre de recherche, no 27, p. 5.

[59] M. Vansiliette, "Note concernant la répartition des classes primaires et gardiennes de langue flamande dans l'agglomération bruxelloise", Centre de recherche, no 153, p. 2.

[60] La Wallonie Libre, "Reponse", p. 3. (It is beyond question that this method, which consists of teaching two languages as different from one another, etymologically and grammatically, as Flemish and French, to children who have no linguistic training, is indefensible in terms of pedagogy. The result of this process is that the students going on to secondary school possess negligible rudiments of the Flemish language, and find themselves in a deplorable state of inferiority in their mother tongue.)

[61] A. Vranckx, "Note concernant la langue de l'enseignement dans l'agglomération bruxelloise", Centre de recherche, no 231, p. 1.

[62] Bourgeois, "Journée d'étude", p. 8.

[63] A.A.J. Bilsen, "Remarques relatives à la note Schreurs-Spanoghe, "Centre de recherche", no 265, p. 1.

CHAPTER VI

SCISSION

Scission as Zeitgeist

The Meaning of History

In 1963 two schools in Antwerp, *Institut St. Joseph* and *Collège Marie José*, erected immovable walls between that section of their buildings and grounds used by Flemings and that used by Walloons, thus preventing members of each group from association with the other. This event — commemorated on a cover of *Pourquoi Pas?* which shows an isolated child, presumably a Fleming, looking longingly over a wall at a group of children, identified in the text of the story as Francophones[1] — was an expediency, an attempt to retain a government subsidy which would be denied schools which did not comply with new, stringent language regulations; and it was an expediency which failed. Before the decade was over only a handful of Francophone schools would remain in Flanders: a few special schools for handicapped children or for children of armed forces personnel, plus a few "illegal" schools, whose graduates could not matriculate at Belgian universities or compete for civil service jobs. Transmutation schools would close. The Francophone sector at the University of Louvain would move to Wallonia. Even churches which previously conducted services in French would adopt Netherlandish: "Les messes françaises supprimées à Beauval", proclaimed a headline in *Le Soir* in 1968[2].

The decision to divide an institution should no more surprise us than the failure of this strategy to keep open a viable option for French-language education in Flanders. Scission, both physical and psychic, was part of a *Zeitgeist* whose time had come, a *Zeitgeist* foreshadowed half a century earlier by Jules Destrée's proposal that a federation of Walloons and Flemings replace the nation-state or by the *Raad van Vlaanderen's* vote in 1917 for an independent Kingdom of Flanders. It is symptomatic that these harbingers reflect the Utopias of both Walloons and Flemings; for separatism paradoxically is one of the very few issues which unite both poles of the linguistic spectrum.

Other less spectacular harbingers mark the years preceding passage of the Language Laws of 1962-1963. In Harmel Center reports on the teaching of Belgian history, there is restiveness over acceptance of an image of a Belgium united in spirit and culture since the Middle Ages, even if not united by language. Some historians like Marcel Bourguignon, Curator of the Archives of Arlon, accepted the Pirenne unitary thesis:

> Je demeure donc partisan d'une histoire unitaire de la Belgique, tenant compte de toute les époques et de tous les territoires, mettant certes en évidence la richesse de nos vieux particularismes, mais respectant les données constantes qui ont fait de tous nos terroirs disparates une nation[3].

But for many historians this traditional view of Belgian history demanded modification. A. Arnould of the University of Brussels accepted Pirenne's "discovery" of *medieval* unity, but he insisted that this unity was followed by centuries of diversity[4]. Frans van Kalken, on the other hand, considered the conception of a unified "collective conscience" to be a construct of the mind of Henri Pirenne rather than historical reality. He pointed out that — even though unifying factors did exist after the 18th century — historians who were living at the time Belgium gained independence were regionalists whose world view had been overlooked by Pirenne and his followers.

Prof. Felix Rousseau of the University of Liège started with the premise that conventional unitary assumptions were a projection of the present onto the past:

> La vision d'une Belgique unitaire projetée dans le passé déforme singulièrement la physionomie véritable des anciens Pays-Bas, qui ont connu une vie provinciale intense jusqu'à la fin de l'Ancien Régime[5].

For Rousseau there were two essential themes: regional history, with a separate history of the Liège, Malmedy, and Luxembourg principalities until the 18th century; and the influence of France on Wallonia, which led Walloons to adopt a standard French rather than a dialect as early as the 13th century — a view which prompted G. Dhondt of the University of Ghent to note that Rousseau viewed Walloons as Celts who have always opted for France[6]. Yet Dhondt also emphasized the idea of a collective regional consciousness and was ready to insist that the real issue was "à *quelle* collectivité les habitants de nos provinces (Liège exclus) avaient-ils conscience d'appartenir?"[7] The issue, in other words, was the nature of the particularities that doubtless existed. There was, therefore, a need for "un régionalisme mesure"[8].

The Bilateral Image

The legislation that emerged from the recommendations of the Harmel Center built on this *Zeitgeist*. It started with the framework provided by the Language Laws of 1932, laws which attempted to find a way of balancing the needs of the two language communities, of providing for equilibrium within a unitary state. As the Study Center for State Reform concluded in 1936: "Since we have two communities which, on certain essential points, have separate needs, hopes, and desires, the State must adapt itself to this duality"[9]. The Harmel Center report of 1958, on the other hand, implied a change in state design rather than adaptation.

> Il existe en Belgique deux communautés culturelles, la communauté wallonne et la communauté flamande; ... Ces deux communautés doivent être homogènes[10].

And the laws that grew out of this report treated preservation of this homogeneity as the primary priority. Legislation in the 1960's carried with it an explicit vision of a future in which semi-autonomous subnations would coexist in a federation.

Such a vision was far from fanciful. The 1930's legislated for flexible boundaries between the unilingual regions and between Flanders and the bilingual capital. Legislation in the 1960's froze the language line. The 1930's legislation allowed minorities in Flanders or Wallonia to begin their education in the mother tongue. Legislation in the 1960's mandated the total hegemony of the regional language. The Language Law of 1932 allowed Flemings and Walloons to coexist within the same school in Brussels, although presumably in separate classes. The Language Law of 1963 split these schools into autonomous linguistic segments. By 1969 there would be two Ministries of Education[11], one Netherlandish, one French; two television channels, one Netherlandish, one French. By 1971 two semi-autonomous Cultural Councils — one Netherlandish, one French — would be responsible for administering to the educational, social, and cultural needs of Flemings and Walloons. And these Councils, each of which would report directly to their separate ministries, were to eventually control the two networks of schools, not only in Flanders and Wallonia, but also in Brussels. This was a bilateral scheme, each group a mirror image of the other; but basic to the design was the scission which made the complementary images possible. By the 1960's the unitary nation-state with its Francophone bias, which Belgium had once been, was fast becoming a nostalgic evocation of the past, and a new, multi-national, regionalized federation was struggling to be born[12].

This *Zeitgeist* dominated every phase of Belgian life — and with it came invisible psychic walls unlike any Belgians had seen before. *Volksunie*, the radical Flemish political party, would build the biggest walls of all, the idea of a subnationality that would separate Belgians from one another for life. According to proposals detailed in its white paper, *Witboek van de Subnationaliteit*[13], the identity card of all Belgians should designate Walloon, Flemish, or German-speaking. Minorities living in Flanders or Wallonia would automatically acquire the subnationality of the region after living there for ten years. They would be, in other words, absorbed into the region. In Brussels children would take on the subnationality of their parents, but there would be no *Brussels* subnationality. In Brussels, moreover, the only individuals who could change subnationality would be those who were products of a mixed marriage between a Fleming and a Walloon; and even these individuals could not petition to change identity until after twenty years of residence in the capital city — long enough to go through school in the initial language[14]. Granted that this proposal represents a radical extreme not yet realized. It is an extreme that expresses a psychic reality — at least among some Belgians. *Scission* is a realistic metaphor for the spirit of *this* age.

The Freezing of the Language Line

The Battle of the Census

The new age was ushered in by the freezing of the language line — a political decision that stemmed directly from the controversial 1947 census, which showed big inroads by Francophones in Brussels and its surrounding area. The Language Laws of 1932 had provided for a flexible language border, with the possibility for adjustments in villages where the ten-year census showed more than 20% of the population to be using a language different from the territorial language. It had even envisioned an elastic urban boundary for Brussels, which had in the past incorporated bilingual villages on its perimeter into the urban agglomerate. Indeed, in October 1933 Mayor Adolphe Max had proposed the incorporation of three peripheral communes: Berchem-Ste-Agathe, Evere, and Ganshoren; and the Law of June 15, 1935 on judicial organization had reiterated this plan — proposals which incurred the ire of Flemish politicians already concerned over the gradual encroachment of the Brussels "oil spot" onto Flemish territory[15].

The Law of July 14, 1932 had provided for changes in the administrative and educational structure of communities on the linguistic frontier that were undergoing language shift; for these communities would reflect the findings of each ten year census, so that those in which minorities reached 20% of the population could begin second language instruction as early as the third year of school (second form) — the pattern in Brussels — instead of waiting until the fifth year, as was mandated in the unilingual territories[16]. According to the Law of June 28, 1932, once a community reached 30% minority population, it could adopt a bilingual regime for notices to the public, a logical first step for communes on the periphery of Brussels which wished to join the urban agglomerate. Within Brussels itself, the census would also have an impact, for administration of the communes within the city was to be in the language of the majority. In 1932 only one commune, Woluwé-St.-Lambert, had chosen Netherlandish; only two, Molenbeek and Woluwé St.-Pierre, a bilingual regime[17]. Netherlandish, therefore, was already an endangered language in the communal councils of Brussels.

The migration of Francophones to Flemish villages on the Brussels perimeter was the most sensitive issue, however. In 1932 Berchem-Ste-Agathe, Evere, and Ganshoren recorded 45.32%, 29.37%, and 34.20% respectively of their inhabitants to be Francophones. In the

1947 census, Francophones constituted a majority in all three communes[18]; and six other peripheral villages — Drogenbos, Kraainem, Linkebeek, Rhode-St. Genèse, Wemmel, and Wezembeek-Oppem — were also ready to push for bilingual status. "L'agglomération bruxelloise s'étend de plus en plus, c'est la décongestion des centres qui est facilitée par l'abondance et la rapidité des moyens de communication"[19]. There were other controversial areas besides Brussels and its periphery: Renaix, Enghien, Outre Meuse, Mouscron — all of which were hotly contested in the wake of the 1947 census. But it was the Brussels "tache d'huile" which led to the decision to freeze the language line.

None of these Francophone gains were accepted without question. Even A. Dufrasne, Director of the National Institute of Statistics, who defended the precision of the procedures followed in the contested census, admitted that systematic error could intrude upon data otherwise meticulously gathered. For one thing, "knowing" a language could have a variety of meanings, and could lead to a variety of subjective responses:

> D'abord quand connaît-on une langue? Les instructions ont essaye de preciser en disant: pour être considere comme sachant une de ces langues (nationales), il faut en posseder une connaissance suffisante pour se faire comprendre dans les actes ordinaires de la vie. L'on comprendra dejà combien cette definition peut donner lieu à des reponses subjectives[20].

Dufrasne admitted that these subjective responses were more likely than not a reflection of the sweepstakes involved in the 1932 Language Laws, which turned the census — at least in Brussels — into a virtual plebescite:

> Au fait, dans certaines de ces communes le recensement semble être transformé en une espèce de référendum exécuté dans de mauvaises conditions[21].

As long as these laws gave bilinguals an incentive for choosing French as their "usual language", Dufrasne concluded that an accurate census would be impossible.

Those who had most to lose from the results of the 1947 census tended to agree with this appraisal. But they went even further — challenging the validity of the entire process, attempting to delay its publication, and producing their own alternative statistics. By the time the 1947 figures were finally published in 1954, the first set of rival surveys were already a matter of public record. Leo Lindemans, for example, concluded in 1949 that there were a majority of Neerlandophones in Berchem-Ste-Agathe, Evere, and Ganshoren, and even in Brussels itself. There were, according to Lindemans, a half million Neerlandophones in Brussels, the greater number of whom were born "in het vlaamse-land"[22]. His were the most optimistic figures, but *Centrum Andragogisch Onderzoek* in 1961 and the Kint survey in 1966 placed the Netherlandish community closer to one-third of the total population than to the one-fourth given in the official figures: 38.80% in the *Centrum* survey, a range of 26.66% and 31.66% in the Kint survey. Clearly the determination of the "usual language" within the city of Brussels was a more complicated matter than even the census-takers had credited it with being. (See Table 13)

Epistemological Political Boundaries

At issue, of course, was the, by now, familiar epistemological concern: What is "knowing" a language? In the 19th century the focus of the census was simply: "Quelle langue parlez-vous habituellement?" In 1910 two questions appeared. The first was categorical: "Le recensé sait-il parler le français (ou le wallon), oui ou non? Le néerlandais (flamand), oui ou non, l'Allemand, oui ou non". The second, however, required a fairly sophisticated act of discrimination: "S'il sait parler deux ou trois langues nationales reprises ci-dessus, indiquer celle dont il se sert le plus fréquemment[23]?" Attempts were made — but defeated — to qualify this response in 1947 by asking which was the language of the home: "Quelle est la langue dans laquelle on apprend à l'enfant à s'exprimer? [24]" But the fact remained that, given the wording of these questions, *nationality*, *language commonly used*, and *mother tongue* were — as Paul Levy has pointed out — lumped together in one linguistic basket[25]. It would be much easier for the respondent simply to name the language of choice than to probe the more complicated issue of when, if ever, "knowing" how to speak, read, or write a second language passes into "knowing" a language in the same way that one knows a mother tongue.

TABLE 13

Comparison of the Percentage of Neerlandophones in the 19 Communes of Brussels, Official and Unofficial Figures: 1947, 1949, 1961, 1966

Communes	Official Census 1947	Lindemans Survey 1949	Centrum Andragogisch Onderzoek 1961	Kint Survey 1966	
				Minimum	Maximum
Anderlecht	39.26	65.31	52.30	40	45
Bruxelles	24.31	80.71	37.50	25	30
Ixelles	9.53	40.34	24.90	10	15
Etterbeek	14.15	44.33	29.20	30	35
Evere	48.24	66.00	57.10	45	50
Ganshoren	42.61	66.64	54.60	40	45
Jette	39.93	64.97	52.40	25	30
Koekelberg	38.84	65.81	52.10	30	35
Molenbeek	40.80	63.41	52.10	45	50
Auderghem	26.12	51.48	38.80	30	35
Schaerbeek	20.27	51.20	35.70	25	30
Berchem-Ste-Agathe	42.98	70.54	56.70	50	55
St. Gilles	11.23	42.85	27.00	15	20
St. Josse-Ten-Noode	18.15	53.05	35.30	15	20
Woluwé-St.-Lambert	25.29	52.97	39.10	30	35
Woluwé-St.-Pierre	29.80	53.78	41.80	25	30
Uccle	19.28	53.30	36.30	15	20
Forest	17.17	45.38	31.30	25	30
Watermael-Boitsfort	21.77	47.20	34.50	25	30
Total	**24.24**	**53.50**	**38.80**	**26.66**	**31.66**

SOURCE: George Kint, *L'enseignement en langue néerlandaise dans l'agglomération bruxelloise* 2 vols. (Bruxelles: Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Culture, 1966), 2:237.

The decision to freeze the language line was a direct result of this insight, a priority unanimously agreed to by members of the Harmel Center at the Plenary Session on June 19, 1952, which voted to recommend "de fixer définitivement la limite entre les communautés linguistiques de pays"[26] and to utilize "specialists" to determine boundaries in contested areas rather than to depend on any census figures. Details of the political issues involved in the realization of this plan may be found elsewhere[27]. For our purpose the important fact is that ten years later in the Law of November 8, 1962 the geographical boundaries of the Belgian language line were frozen. (See Map 1) Thereafter they could change only by act of Parliament. A final compromise in 1963 awarded three disputed communes, Berchem-Ste-Agathe, Evere, and Ganshoren to Brussels. Six Flemish communes on the perimeter of Brussels: Drogenbos, Kraainem, Linkebeek, Rhode-St.-Genèse, Wemmel, and Wezembeek-Oppem, the so-called "communes à facilités", would be allowed to maintain Francophone elementary schools — but only for the children of Francophones who were bonafide commune residents[28]. (See Map 2) With these exceptions, thereafter, whatever the reality, the region surrounding Brussels was to be Flemish; and the issue of whether one "knows" a language peculiarly a Brussels issue. There would be contests over areas on the language line such as Voeren and battles over the continued existence of Francophones on Flemish soil in Louvain, but the language line would remain frozen.

Separate But Equal

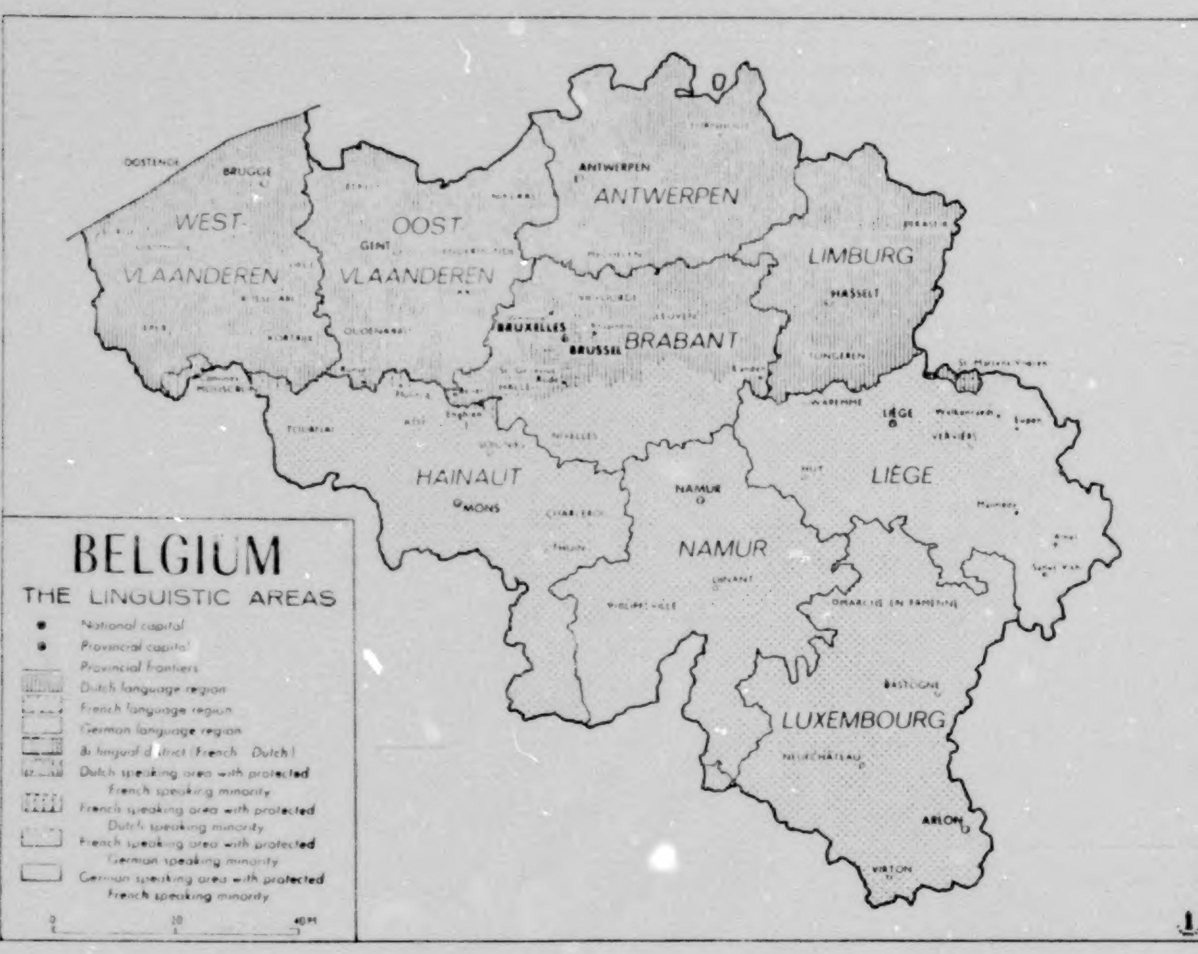
The Language Line in the Schools of Brussels

Like the Language Law of 1932, the Language Law of 1963 mandated use of French as the language of instruction in Wallonia, Netherlandish in Flanders, and the mother tongue or usual language in Brussels. A handful of schools such as schools for the children of armed services personnel and for handicapped children could continue to provide education in a non-territorial language in Flanders or Wallonia under certain carefully controlled situations, and a few international schools could continue to educate non-Belgians[29]; but these were the only legal exceptions. There would be no more transmutation classes. On this the government meant business. Ten days after passage of the new law a Ministerial Circular called for immediate execution of its provisions for phasing out these controversial transitional classes[30]. The new law, moreover, applied to all schools except universities, including schools not previously covered by the language regulations: nursery schools, private primary and secondary schools, teacher training schools, technical and art schools, special schools[31]. Schools that did not obey the new law could no longer grant a legal diploma[32], and this included a large number of Catholic schools where parents had previously found a way around language regulations. Even more important, schools that did not obey would no longer receive government funds. Shortly after passage of the new law, an executive order ended subsidies to "non-conforming schools"[33]. Catholic schools had much to lose unless they *did* obey.

The Language Law of 1963 froze the language line in the schools of Brussels, although the scission that was to occupy school throughout the 1960's was already underway before the new law was passed. First came the phasing out of those bilingual classes still in existence when the decade began. In the communal schools of Brussels, for example, there were six bilingual schools in 1962. (See Table 14) By the end of the 1962-1963 academic year, the Bulletin Communal was able to report:

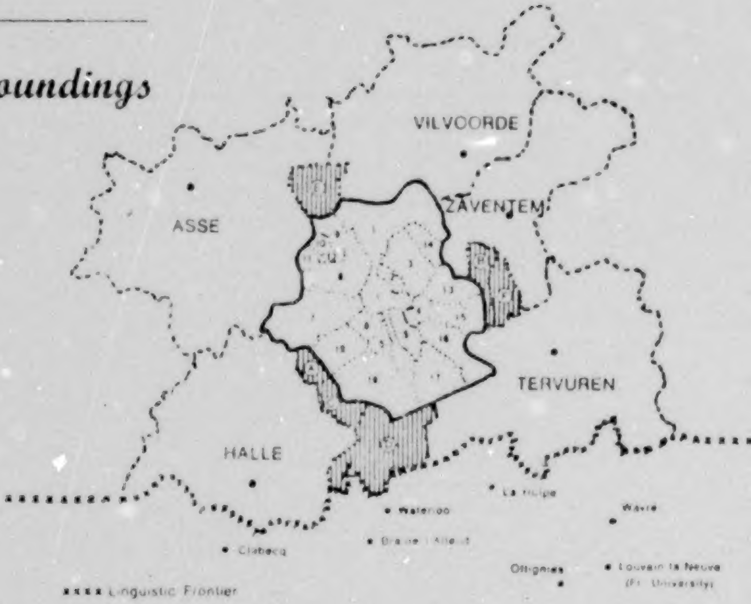
> En fait le régime bilingue est progressivement supprimé dans l'enseignement primaire, cette suppression et l'élaboration d'un régime nouveau se heurtent à des obstacles particuliers, par exemple, la construction de locaux, de classes et le groupement en classe subsidiée ... Toutes les classes bilingues ont disparu dès septembre 1962[34].

The idea of a classroom in which the teacher would use first one language, then the other, was occasionally revived thereafter. But it had very few supporters: "Tweetalige scholen te Brussel: onzin! " (Bilingual schools in Brussels, nonsense!), proclaimed a headline in *De Brusselse Post*[35].


BELGIUM
THE LINGUISTIC AREAS
National capital
Provincial capital
Provincial frontiers
Dutch language region
French language region
German language region
Bilingual district (French - Dutch)
Dutch speaking area with protected French speaking minority
French speaking area with protected Dutch speaking minority
French speaking area with protected German speaking minority
German speaking area with protected French speaking minority
0
20
40
WEST-VLAANDEREN
OOST-VLAANDEREN
ANTWERPEN
LIMBURG
BRABANT
HAINAUT
NAMUR
LIÈGE
LUXEMBOURG
OOSTENDE
BRUGGE
GENT
ANTWERPEN
HASSELT
BRUXELLES
BRUSSEL
TONGEREN
LEUVEN
OUDENAARDE
KORTRIJK
TOURNAI
MONS
CHARLEROI
NIVELLES
NAMUR
DINANT
LIÈGE
VERVIERS
EUPEN
HUY
MARCHE EN FAMENNE
BASTOGNE
NEUFCHÂTEAU
ARLON
VIRTON
PHILIPPEVILLE
THUIN
WAREMME
St. Martens-Voeren

SOURCE: Robert Senelle, "The Belgian Constitution: Commentary," *Memo from Belgium* 166 (1974), opposite p. 16.

Brussels *and surroundings*


VILVOORDE
ASSE
ZAVENTEM
TERVUREN
HALLE
Waterloo
La Hulpe
Wavre
Clabecq
Braine l'Alleud
Ottignies
Louvain la Neuve
(Fr. University)
Linguistic Frontier

MAP REFERENCES

BILINGUAL REGION
OF BRUSSELS CAPITAL

– 19 Boroughs

1 = Brussels
2 = St Josse ten Noode
3 = Schaerbeek
4 = Etterbeek
5 = Ixelles
6 = St Gilles
7 = Anderlecht
8 = Molenbeek
9 = Jette
10 = Ganshoren
11 = Berchem Ste Agathe
12 = Koekelberg
13 = Woluwe St Lambert
14 = Evere
15 = Woluwe-St-Pierre
16 = Auderghem
17 = Watermael Boitsfort
18 = Uccle
19 = Forest

THE SIX PERIPHERAL BOROUGHS
(in the Dutch language region)

Ⓐ = Drogenbos
Ⓑ = Kraainem
Ⓒ = Linkebeek
Ⓓ = Rhode St Genese
Ⓔ = Wemmel
Ⓕ = Wezembeek Oppem

THE FIVE PERIPHERAL URBAN FEDERATION
(in the Dutch language region)

Asse
Vilvoorde
Zaventem
Tervuren
Halle

SOURCE: Robert Senelle, "The Belgian Constitution: a Commentary," *Memo from Belgium* 166 (1974
opposite p. 17.

TABLE 14

Population and Number of Netherlandish and French Classes in Communal Schools: 1962-1966

Year	French Classes		Netherlandish Classes		Bilingual Classes	
	Number	Population	Number	Population	Number	Population
1962	236	7224	24	411	6	129
1963	333	7404	26	426	- -	- -
1964	342	7691	29	442	- -	- -
1965	348	8006	28	448	- -	- -
1966	370	8231	26	435	- -	- -

SOURCE: Archives de la ville de Bruxelles, *Bulletin communal: rapport annuel*, 1962, p. 407; 1963, p. 475; 1964, p. 387; 1965, p. 216; 1966, p. 211.

Next came the administrative scission mandated by the new law. There would be completely separate schools for Flemings and Walloons, and to achieve this goal previous neglect of the Flemish sector would be rectified by building ten new Flemish schools each year[36]. Meanwhile, those schools where Flemings and Walloons coexisted in separate classes must provide two independent administrators, one Netherlandish, one French[37].

This administrative scission occupied school authorities in Brussels throughout the 1960's. The Communal Council of Bruxelles, for example, introduced reorganization plans on December 14, 1964 which were gradually implemented over a three year period[38]. Communal Schools 12, 34, and 39 were to be completely Francophone; Schools 35 and 38 Netherlandish; and the Netherlandish classes in Schools 24/25 and 28/29 assigned to Schools 24 and 28 respectively. (See Table 15) Others would still have classes for both Flemings and Walloons but a separate administrative organization for each regime. In certain Catholic schools, on the other hand, one administrator continued to function as the head of the school, and subordinate administrators were appointed to oversee the French and the Netherlandish regimes respectively. As far as the state was concerned, however, the only *official* administrators were those who headed each of the separate linguistic regimes[39].

In some instances implementation of the Language Law of 1963 produced seemingly ludicrous situations. The *Conservatoire de Bruxelles*, one of the many technical and art schools subject to language regulation for the first time, began the process of scission into *Conservatoire* and a complementary *Muziekconservatorium* in 1966 by appointing two separate directors for a Netherlandish and a Francophone regime and allowing faculty to select affiliation with one language sector or the other, or with a *secteur commun*. In 1970-71, when the scission was completed and faculty affiliated with the *secteur commun* had to choose either the Francophone or the Netherlandish regime, two eminent members of the faculty, both foreigners but Francophones, created a *cause célèbre* by choosing to affiliate with the Netherlandish regime — this, in spite of the fact that neither knew Netherlandish. The impact of this alignment was particularly interesting in the case of André Gertler, an Hungarian violinist of international repute, who taught his master class in French, a language his international clientele had no difficulty following. But this same group of students had to enroll in other courses such as solfège taught in Netherlandish[40]. It was easier to split an institution than to split people.

Even more complex than the issue of *dédoublement-splitsing* was the related issue of class size. Throughout the decade, radical Flemings would complain bitterly over perceived inequities in the Netherlandish regime and would press for more and more concessions[41].

TABLE 15

Evolution of French and Netherlandish Classes in Communal Schools with a Dual Regime: 1962-1966

School	1962		1963		1964		1965		1966	
	Fr.	Neth.	Fr.	Neth.	Fr.	Neth.	Fr.	Neth.	Fr.	Neth.
12*	11	1	10	1	11	1	11	1	11	--
24**/25*	9	2	9	2	9	2	9	2	10	2
26**	9	2	9	2	9	3	9	3	9	3
28**/29*	8	1	7	1	7	2	9	2	11	2
32**	11	2	11	3	12	3	12	3	13	4
34*	9	4	9	4	9	4	8	3	22	--
35*	10	3	8	3	10	3	8	3	--	6
37**	6	3	6	3	6	3	6	3	6	3
38*	4	4	4	4	5	4	5	5	--	6
39*	6***	3***	4	3	4	3	4	3	9	--

SOURCE: Archives de la ville de Bruxelles, *Bulletin communal: rapport annuel*, 1962, p. 407; 1963, p. 475; 1964, p. 387; 1965, p. 216; 1966, p. 211.

*Unilingual French or Netherlandish schools after 1966.

**Schools with dual regimes but separate administrations after 1966. Flemish classes in schools no. 24, 26, 28, 32, 37.

***Bilingual classes enrolling both Flemings and Walloons. Split into separate French and Netherlandish classes after 1962.

On the subject of class size, they would be successful. According to the concession they succeeded in exacting, where Francophones needed a minimum group of twenty in order to form a new class, Flemings would have no minimum. Where Francophones needed thirty students in order to form a second class, Flemings would need only fifteen, etc. (See Table 16) Where a French school would not be entitled to a director until three hundred students were enrolled, a Flemish school would need only one hundred students[42]. The Francophone press would complain bitterly: "Demain, on prendra les enfants au berceau, et

TABLE 16

Projected Class Size for Netherlandish and French-Language Elementary Schools in Brussels, 1971

Number of Classes	Flemish Sector	French Sector
1 class	no minimum	20 students
2 classes	15 students	30 students
3 classes	35 students	55 students
4 classes	55 students	80 students
5 classes	70 students	105 students
6 classes	85 students	130 students

SOURCE: *Le Soir*, May 31, 1971.

on les mettra de force dans les institutions flamandes. Est-ce là l'objectif poursuivi[43] ? " But in a milieu in which the Francophone regime continued to grow at a faster rate than the Netherlandish, such concessions were less a symbol of preferential treatment than a necessary precondition for survival. For in nursery and elementary schools throughout the city, the percentage of Flemings actually declined: from 16.8% in elementary schools in 1959 to 14.44% in 1971; from 18.89% in nursery schools in 1959 to 13.70% in 1971. (See Table 17) Scission did not guarantee growth within the Netherlandish community, the community for which it was designed.

TABLE 17

Percentage of Students Enrolled in Dutch and in French Nursery and Elementary Schools in Brussels Between 1959 and 1971

Year	Nursery Schools		Elementary Schools	
	French	Dutch	French	Dutch
1959-60	81.11	18.89	83.20	16.80
1960-61	81.88	18.12	82.89	17.11
1963-64*	82.79	17.21	83.00	17.00
1964-65	83.85	16.15	83.29	16.71
1965-66	84.11	15.89	83.70	16.30
1966-67	84.61	15.39	83.79	16.21
1967-68	84.69	15.31	84.51	15.49
1968-69	85.38	14.62	84.92	15.08
1969-70	85.61	14.39	85.26	14.74
1970-71	86.30	13.70	85.56	14.44

SOURCE: Ministerie van Nationale Opvoeding en Nederlandse Cultuur. Unpublished tables.

*No data was given for 1962-63.

A University Divides

On October 7, 1964, Rector Maurice Leroy of the *Université Libre de Bruxelles* chose as his theme for the opening ceremonies of the academic year, "Du dualisme en linguistique". He began with a reference to Manichaean duality in philosophy and religion, and then related this duality to language:

> Au principe des choses il y a une dualité radicale ... Cette dualité qui sollicite constamment l'esprit humain devait aussi se marquer dans le langage qui est bien la manifestation la plus tangible de l'intelligence, le signe qui élève l'homme au-dessus de l'animal, le moyen qui lui permet d'accéder à la compréhension de son moi et du monde[44].

He ended with a plea — in Netherlandish — for a continuation of the tradition that was fundamental to the character of this university: the tradition of free inquiry:

> Freedom of thought and utterance is the highest good of the intellectual, a principle which, in spite of all political opposition, must be vigilently maintained if he is not to succumb[45].

That Rector Leroy should have chosen to end such an important address in Netherlandish, an address in which linguistic duality was explicitly linked with the philosophical and intellectual tradition on which the University of Brussels was founded, is a measure of the distance that the University and the Belgian nation had traveled since World War II when the University chose to close its doors rather than to accept the appointment of certain Netherlandish professors to its faculty. Granted that the closing of the University was a response to German intransigence, to the attempt of the German occupiers to force Belgian intellectuals to accept a Flemish Separatist and a convicted traitor such as Antoon Jacob as a colleague[46]. Nevertheless, the University had been in the past a faithful mirror of the Belgian Nation, and part of what it reflected was the principle "that the official language of teaching was French"[47].

The idea of linguistic dualism was not unknown at the University of Brussels prior to the 1960's. A course in Netherlandish medical terminology was offered in 1933-34, an offering which prompted Dr. L. Wybauw, *professeur extraordinaire*, to express optimism over the possibility that such an offering would make a contribution to the solution of the language quarrel: "Dans vingt ans, on s'étonnera de ce qu'il aura fallu tant de disputes pour créer un état d'équilibre"[48]. This lone offering was augmented in 1935 when the University added a course in Netherlandish legal terminology — a response to the new Belgian law mandating use of Netherlandish in courts throughout the country[49]. But it was not until after World War II that the *Vereniging voor Nederlands Vrijzinnig Hoger Onderwijs* (Society for Netherlandish Liberal Higher Education) began to call for the duplication of every course at the university[50]. The issue by the end of the 1950's was not whether two language sectors could co-exist within a unitary institution. It was whether or not these sectors would be autonomous. "L'Université restera-t-elle une université unitaire, ayant deux sections linguistiques, ou bien chaque section se développera-t-elle d'une manière totalement indépendante"[51].

There is no doubt that student activism in the 1960's had an impact on the outcome of this issue. For one thing, the language riots at Louvain spilled over onto the streets of Brussels. There were intermittent outbreaks of violence in Louvain as early as 1963, but in January and February of 1968, years when the very existence of a Francophone faculty and student body on Flemish soil was illegitimate in the eyes of Flemings waiting to redeem their promise of a *landstaal*, there was open civil insurrection over plans for expanding Francophone facilities to Wavre near Brussels. The invasion of Francophone classrooms by students carrying placards proclaiming "revolutie", "Walen buiten"[52], the burning of furniture in the streets[53], the attempted alliance with Flemish proletariat in factories[54], the arrest of 647 students in one night[55], the hastily improvised mockeries by Flemish students, including students from the University of Brussels, around the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier[56], the strikes in secondary schools throughout Flanders[57], all were part of the new Flemish militancy. And they succeeded. They not only toppled the government of Paul vanden Boeyants and led to months of political instability, they led to the banishment of Francophone faculty and students to Wallonia and to the erection there of Louvain-la-Neuve at great government expense.

Scission at the University of Brussels, however, was not a response to violence. Brussels had its own student strike in May and June of 1968, its own "assemblée libre", its own occupation of university buildings[58]. But the student strike in May and June 1968 was part of a generational war, not part of a language war. The issues were linguistic only insofar as they coincided with the demand of Flemish students for a restructuring of the university.

That fall, however, Flemish students refused to participate in the traditional festivities surrounding the feast of St. Verhaegen; they boycotted the elections for the *conseil d'administration*. The University proceeded with plans for *dédoublement-splitsing* at a faster pace, but there were no riots, no violence[59].

In 1969, however, the University of Brussels became two universities: the *Vrije Universiteit te Brussel* and *L'Université Libre de Brussels*, with the Belgian Government subsidizing the new Flemish institution to the same degree that it subsidized *Louvain-la-Neuve*. As Henri Simonet announced at the opening ceremonies for Francophone students in 1969:

> La vieille Université Libre de Bruxelles telle qu'elle avait existé dans son cadre bilingue depuis quelques années a donc vécu, et aujourd'hui, il y a deux universités qui tout en étant juridiquement distinctes, continueront, je l'espère, à entretenir dans nombre de domaines des rapports étroits et continueront à tendre vers un idéal commun de Libre Examen[60].

The university had acceded to the *Zeitgeist*. It had acceded also to a singularly pervasive argument. Unless there existed a strong Flemish center of free thought such as the Free University of Brussels, this would leave much of the training of Flemish intellectuals to its arch philosophical rival, the Catholic University of Louvain.

Whatever the impetus — rivalry with the Catholic University of Louvain for influence over a generation, the impact of student pressure, the desire to stave off the violence that had consumed its neighboring university, the fact remains that the University of Brussels *did* divide.

> L'Université Libre de Bruxelles, unitaire et francophone depuis sa création en 1835, mais attachée à ces dernières années à la création de Facultés néerlandophones, s'est transformée en 1969; elle s'est divisée. Pourvues chacune de sa langue propre, l'U.L.B. et V.U.B. vont mener leur existence telles qu'elles l'entendent[61].

After 1969 a unitary Francophone University of Brussels no longer existed, and the two universities that took its place mirrored the bilateral pattern of educational institutions throughout Belgium. Educational scission in Brussels from nursery school to graduate school was now complete[62].

Notes

[1] *Pourquoi Pas?* 53, no 2342 (25 octobre 1962): 1. The Francophone proclivities of this periodical are explicit in the story that appears on page 7.

[2] *Le Soir*, 14 janvier 1968, p. 1. (French Masses suppressed at Beauval.)

[3] Marcel Bourguignon, "L'enseignement de l'histoire en Belgique", Centre de recherche pour la solution nationale des problèmes sociaux, politiques et juridiques en régions wallonnes et flamandes (Harmel Center), no 176, p. 4. (I remain then partisan to a unitary history of Belgium taking into account all epochs and territories, certainly putting in evidence the richness of our old particularisms, but respecting all of the unchanging fundamentals which have made one nation out of our disparate territories.)

[4] A. Arnould, "L'avenir de l'enseignement de l'histoire — histoire régionale, histoire nationale ou histoire de l'Europe", Centre de recherche, no 180, p. 10.

[5] Felix Rousseau, "Le problème de l'enseignement de l'histoire nationale en Wallonie", Centre de recherche, no 154, p. 3. (The vision of a unitary Belgium projected into the past singularly deforms the true character of the ancient Low Countries, which knew an intense provincial life until the end of the *Ancien Régime*.)

[6] G. Dhondt, "L'enseignement de l'histoire nationale", Centre de recherche, no 167, p. 2.

[7] *Ibid.*, (... to *which* collectivity the inhabitants of our provinces [Liège excluded] have belonged to.)

[8] Frans van Kalken, "Histoire nationale et histoire régionale", Centre de recherche, no 174, pp. 5-6.

[9] Quoted in Robert Senelle, *The Belgium Constitution: Commentary, Memo From Belgium* 166 (1974), pp. 157-158.

[10] "Rapport Final", Centre de recherche, no 326, p. 6. (There exist in Belgium two cultural communities, the Walloon community and the Flemish community ... These two communities ought to be homogenous.)

[11] Franz Coppieters, *The Community Problem in Belgium* (Bruxelles: Institut Belge d'Information et de Documentation, 1974), p. 12.

[12] Leo Tindemans, "Regionalized Belgium: Transition from the National State to the Multinational Society", *Memo From Belgium* 151-152 (August-September 1972).

[13] Rob Vandezande, *Zwartboek van de Belgische Taalwetgeving. Witboek van de Subnationaliteit* (Brussel: Volksunie, 1972).

[14] *Ibid.*, Bijlage.

[15] Mina Martens *et al*, *Histoire de Bruxelles* (Bruxelles: Editions Universitaires, 1976), pp. 439-440.

[16] *Loi du 14 juillet 1932*, Article 22.

[17] A. Vranckx, "Rapport concernant le régime linguistique en matière administrative dans l'agglomération bruxelloise", Centre de recherche, no 241, p. 4.

[18] *Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique et du Congo Belge* (Gand: Vanderpoorten, 1935); George Kint, *L'enseignement en langue néerlandaise dans l'agglomération bruxelloise*, 2 vols (Bruxelles: Ministère de l'Education et de la Culture, 1966), 2:237. I have relied on M. Kint to supplement the somewhat abbreviated information given in the *Annuaire Statistique* for the 1947 census, and corroborated his figures with those published in Leo Lindemans, *Proeve van een Objectieve Talentelling en het Brusselse* (Brussel: Standaard-Boekhandel, 1951).

[19] A. Dufrasne, "Communication concernant les recensements linguistiques", Centre de recherche, no 137, p. 10. (The Brussels agglomeration extends further and further. The abundance and rapidity of means of communication facilitates the decongestion of its center.)

[20] A. Dufrasne, "Communication concernant les recensements linguistiques", pp. 4-5. (First, when does one know a language. The instructions try to be precise, saying that to be considered as knowing one of the national languages, one must possess sufficient knowledge to understand it in the ordinary acts of life. One will indeed understand how this definition may give rise to subjective responses.)

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 8. (In fact, in certain of these communes the census seems to be transformed into a kind of referendum executed under bad conditions.)

[22] Lindemans, *Proeve van een Objectieve Talentelling*, p. 82.

[23] Dufrasne, "Communication concernant les "recensements". (Does the respondent know how to speak French [or Walloon], yes or no? Netherlandish [or Flemish] yes or no? German, yes or no? If he knows how to speak two or three of the national languages indicated above, select the one that he uses most frequently.)

[24] *Ibid.* (In what language are you teaching the child to speak?)

[25] Paul Levy, "Quelques problèmes de statistique à la lumière de l'expérience belge", *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie* 37 (1964): 261.

[26] "Résolution de l'assemblée plénière concernant la fixation de la frontière linguistique, adoptée le 19 juin 1952", Centre de recherche, no 227, p. 2. (... to define the frontier between the language communities of the country definitively.)

[27] See, for example, Arthur Curtis, "New Perspectives on the History of the Language Problem in Belgium", PhD Dissertation, University of Oregon (1971).

[28] *Loi du 2 août 1963.*

[29] *Loi du 30 juillet 1963*, Articles 7, 20. Article 7 allowed a school for Francophone children attached to the teacher training institute of the University of Louvain to remain open, a situation which became one of the many sensitive areas in the friction between Flemings and Francophones in that university city located within the Netherlandish language territory. The school continued to function even after the language riots of 1968 and the decision to transfer the Francophone sector of the university to Louvain-la-Neuve in Wallonia, but only until plans for relocation were complete and the government had time to build new accommodations for the Francophone university in Wallonia. The schools for handicapped children and for children of armed forces personnel which used a non-territorial language of instruction were open *only* to children whose parents did *not* live in the linguistic territory in which they were located. As far as international schools are concerned, an official in one of the Ministries of Education informed the author that there *are* Belgian children in these schools, but that they cannot expect to receive a diploma valid for further study in Belgium.

[30] *Circulaire ministérielle du 9 août 1963.*

[31] *Ibid.*, Article 1.

[32] *Ibid.*, Article 19.

[33] *Circulaire ministérielle du 29 août 1963.*

[34] Archives de la Ville de Bruxelles, *Bulletin Communal*, no 23 (22 octobre 1962): 450-451. (In fact the bilingual regime has been progressively suppressed in elementary education. This suppression and the working out of a new regime has struck certain obstacles, for example, the construction of facilities, of classes and the grouping in the subsidized schools. All bilingual classes disappeared by September 1962.)

[35] *De Brusselse Post*, 15 juni 1968.

[36] *Loi du 30 juillet 1963*, Article 21.

[37] *Ibid.*, Article 5.

[38] *Bulletin Communal* no 28 (14 décembre 1964): 1004-1005. The announcement of these plans was made in Netherlandish and recorded in the *Bulletin* in that language.

[39] Conversation with J. Doppagne, June 28, 1976, Nivelles.

[40] *Le Soir*, 5 novembre 1970, p. 1. The author also had opportunity to check the impressions of members of the Master Class in violin for the 1970-71 year.

[41] The loudest complaints came from Volksunie, the radical Flemish political party. See, for example, Maurits van Haegendoren, *Zwartboek van de liberté du père de famille* (Brussel: Volksunie, 1971), pp. 21-40.

[42] *Le Soir*, 31 mai 1971, p. 2.

[43] *Ibid*. (Tomorrow they will take children from the cradle and force them into Flemish institutions? Is that the objective?)

[44] Maurice Leroy, "Du dualisme en linguistique", Discours prononcé à la séance académique de rentrée du 7 octobre 1964. Revue de *l'Université de Bruxelles* 17 (octobre 1964-février 1965): 19-20. (In the principle of things there is a radical duality ... This duality, which constantly incites the human spirit, ought also to be found in language, which is indeed the most tangible manifestation of intelligence, the sign which raises man above animal, the means which permit him access to an understanding of himself and his world.)

[45] *Ibid*., p. 36. ("Vrijheid van gedachte en meningsuiting het hoogste goed is van de intellectueel, een beginsel dat hij in weerwil van alle politiek tegenkantingen waakzaam moet handhaven, als hij niet wil ondergaan.")

[46] Elizabeth Sherman Swing, "Flemings and Germans: Some Factors in the Closing of the University of Brussels in World War II". Unpublished article (1974).

[47] Henri Gregoire, "The University of the Free and the Brave", *Belgium* 12 (1945): 454.

[48] R. Wybauw, "Leçon d'ouverture du cours d'entretiens médicaux en langue flamande", *Revue de Université Libre de Bruxelles* 39 (décembre 1932-janvier 1934): 217. (In twenty years, we will be astonished that so many disputes were necessary in order to create a state of equilibrium.)

[49] "Le dédoublement linguistique de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles", I, *Courrier Hebdomadaire du CRISP*, no 458, 14 novembre 1969, p. 3.

[50] *Ibid*., p. 6.

[51] Christian Dejean et Charles-Louis Binnemans, *Université belge: Du pari au défi* (Bruxelles: Editions de l'Institut de Sociologie, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1971), p. 468. (Will the University remain a unitary university, having two linguistic sections, or rather will each section develop in a totally independent manner?)

[52] *Le Soir*, 18 janvier 1968, p. 2.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] *Ibid*., 27 janvier 1968, p. 3. Also, 2 février 1968, p. 7.

[55] *Le Monde*, 24 janvier 1968, p. 2.

[56] *Le Soir*, 23 janvier 1968, p. 3.

[57] *Ibid*., 24 janvier 1968, p. 2.

[58] *Ibid*., 21 mai 1968, p. 3.

[59] Dejean et Binnemans, *Université belge*, p. 469. Dejeans and Binnemans give a full account of the emergence of this scission. See also, "La concrétisation du dédoublement linguistique de L'ULB II", *Courrier Hebdomadaire du CRISP*, no 463, 19 décembre 1969.

[60] Henri Simonet, "Allocution de M. Henri Simonet", Séance Académique de Rentrée, 2 octobre 1970. *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* (1971): 14. (Today there are two universities which, while being juridically separate, wil continue, I hope, to provide close rapport in a number of domains and will continue to hold out a common ideal of free thought.)

[61] Dejeans et Binnemans, *L'université belge*, p. 485. (The Free University of Brussels, unitary and Francophone since its creation in 1835, but committed in these later years to the creation of Netherlandish faculties, was transformed in 1969; it was divided. Each provided with its own language, U.L.B. and V.U.B. are going to lead their own existence as they understand it.)

[62] The Language Law of 1963, however, had not called for scission on the university level. Its provisions applied only to pre-schools, elementary, secondary schools, and certain technical and artistic institutions.

CHAPTER VII

LANGUAGE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Liberté du père de famille

The New Guerre Scolaire

Between the final months of 1966 and September of 1971, the schools and courts of the capital of Belgium were the scene of a tense conflict scarcely reported beyond the borders of that troubled country. The discord was hardly a secret, for it was widely reported in the Belgian Parliament[1]. But these were busy and turbulent years when the international press had other more visible points of focus: the riots at the University of Louvain, the case involving Belgium at the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg[2], the completion of the new Belgian Constitution. There was other news to report, and the school conflict in Brussels looked like a relatively unimportant internal political matter, albeit a sensitive issue which few Belgians wished to discuss with outsiders. Yet this conflict was of such critical importance in the power struggle between Flemings and Walloons that the Constituent Assembly could not complete the third revision of the Constitution until a compromise was found[3].

The central issue was not new to Belgium: the question of whether it is parents who have the right to determine the form and content of their children's education or whether this is the prerogative of the state. In an earlier era this issue had provoked a confrontation over government subsidy of Catholic schools. But that particular issue, which dominated Belgian school politics for a century, was resolved in the ***Pacte Scolaire*** of 1959, which promised increased government subsidy of all private schools, provided that they conformed "aux dispositions légales et réglementaires concernant l'organisation des études et l'application des lois linguistiques"[4], a compromise that guaranteed funding of Catholic schools but also brought them into the orbit of the language controversy. The conflict with which we are concerned paralleled this church-state conflict. It even appropriated one of its slogans, ***liberté du père de famille***[5]. But in the original ***guerre scolaire, liberté du père de famille*** referred to the right of a father, as head of the family, to select a religious education for his child if he so desired. In the middle years of the 20th century, its primary connotation was the right to select the ***language*** of education, an issue that invoked matters of conscience every bit as intense as those at stake in a religious war.

Partisans even utilized terminology borrowed from the Counter-Reformation:

> L'emploi des langues est devenu en Belgique ce qu'était la pratique d'une religion au temps des guerres civiles du xvi^{e} siècle; une entrave à la liberté de la personne[6].

Opponents of the new language regulations accused the government of conducting an "inquisition linguistique" and of enforcing laws which "heurte et heurtera profondément les consciences et sera la source de multiples tracasseries vexantes et irritantes"[7]. And the government in turn made promises couched in similar metaphor. "L'inspection linguistique ne peut dégénérer en une chasse aux sorcières", stated M.F. Grootjans, Minister of Education in 1967[8]. The Flemish press, on the other hand, simply called language inspection a "vuil karwei" (a nasty job)[9].

The conflict was a byproduct of provisions that have appeared in all the major language laws since the Education Act of 1910. In Brussels the language of instruction must be "la langue maternelle ou usuelle" as determined "par déclaration du chef de famille"[10], a phrase that was in the past widely interpreted to mean that the head of the family had a virtual free hand in deciding the language in which his child would be educated, *liberté du pere de famille*. If there was an anomaly in the fact that invocation of this human right meant that *fathers* might select a *mother* tongue that was rarely used at home, the feminist implications of this paradox were not the issue. The issue was the father's right to make this choice.

This right was challenged by the provision in the Language Law of 1932 for a review board to oversee school enrollments "en cas de doute sur l'exactitude de la déclaration du pere de famille"[11]. But the existence of this provision did not change sociolinguistic patterns, nor did it stop the language shift from Flemish to French that had been taking place in Brussels for generations. In 1930, 63.4% of the population in this formerly Flemish village indicated that French was their language of preference. In 1947, the year of the last official census, the proportion was 70.61%[12]. The right was further challenged by the Language Law of July 30, 1963, which attempted to redress this trend by providing for strict enforcement of the provisions of the earlier law. As M. Larock, Minister of Education, pointed out in the Belgian Senate in July 1963:

> Le principe de la loi de 1932 n'est pas la liberté de choix du chef de famille: c'est le caractère primordial, déterminant de la langue maternelle ou usuelle de l'enfant. C'est dans cette langue que l'enfant doit être instruit[13].

The Language Law of 1963 provided for direct surveillance of school enrollments and for court review of language declarations that were out of line with linguistic reality, but this surveillance did not actually go into effect until a special *Arrêté* in November 1966 mandated immediate execution of the provisions in the new law for the schools of Brussels[14]. Once the mandate for linguistic inspection was actually executed, the confrontation between those who wished to continue what they considered their basic right to select the language of education for their children and those who viewed such choice as illegal became the most explosive political conflict in Belgium. Even anticipation of this executive order led to lamentations, as witness M. Pire in the Communal Council of Bruxelles in October 1966:

> Pour ma part, je reçois les doleances des parents, et vous devinez lesquels, qui lorsqu'ils ont inscrit leurs enfants a l'école gardienne ont été fort étonnes de se voir enlever d'office tout droit quant au choix de la langue, dans laquelle serait instruit leurs enfants[15].

Small wonder this was an explosive issue. The protagonists in the conflict were innocent children, often very young children, whose parents, often very bewildered parents, were trying to interpret experience according to the norms of a society in the midst of change. Small wonder the language inspectorate seemed more like adversaries than the hard working civil servants that they really were, civil servants who moved in bilateral tandem, one from the French-language Ministry of Education, one from the Netherlandish Ministry, both reviewing language declarations for each school to which they were assigned. The inspectors did their job with professional impartiality, but they had a complicated role.

Brusselse Cocktail Bruxellois

Any linguistic issue would have been explosive in Brussels during the 1960's. The Francophone community had more than held its own in Brussels, but an absolute majority of Belgians lived in Flanders. Heavy industry was moving there from Wallonia. If Flemings remained the less affluent segment of society, if French continued to be the language of privilege, there was no good reason, political, demographic, or economic, why this condition should continue. By the 1960's the question was not *whether* a framework for linguistic duality would evolve within the Belgian nation. It was already evolving. The question was whether it would evolve peacefully.

The potential for violence was just beneath the surface. In both 1961 and 1962 Flemings staged a march on the capital city to protest delay in passage of new, more stringent language laws. "La marche sur Bruxelles a eu lieu dans le tumulte", reported *Le Soir* in October 1962[16]. There were other demonstrations. Netherlandish students at *L'Ecole de l'Etat pour Traducteurs et Interprètes* in Ixelles, joined by students from the Netherlandish sector of the University of Louvain, tied up traffic on the narrow streets of the center section of Brussels for several hours on January 13, 1966, a demonstration that was broken up by the Brussels police, who arrested twenty-six students[17]. On May 27, 1966 another disturbance took place in which, according to the report given to the Communal Council by M. Pire:

> .. les rues de Bruxelles ont vu défiler cinq cents collégiens flamingants. Bruyants, grossiers, insolents, ils promenaient partout leurs cris hostiles et leurs panneaux belliqueux 'Wallons dehors'[18].

And in 1968 the language riots at the University of Louvain provoked demonstrations and marches within the capital city, too.

It wasn't just the schools that were at issue. Brussels itself faced an identity crisis. As the only official bilingual zone except for a few villages on the language line of a country now divided into two unilingual geographical territories, as the seat at NATO and of the Common Market, as an international business center that was the virtual capital of Europe, as a cosmopolitan center that was also the capital of Belgium, and as a city located within the geographical boundaries of Flemish territory, Brussels had its own multifaceted identity and its own deep-rooted identity crisis. Brussels was a community complete within itself. "Bruxelles n'est ni flamand, ni wallone, et elle est à la fois l'une et l'autre ... Bruxelles était la seule ville essentiellement belge"[19]. But the evocation of this cosmopolitan supra-ethnic identity ran counter to the ethnocentricity which was the spirit of the age and which demanded that Belgians be Flemings or Walloons first of all. Brussels had its "own brand of mini-patriotism" as if it were a third subnation, but it was also a "hybrid community"[20], a community in which Flemings and Walloons had to coexist.

The image of Brussels as a rootless city, an "agglomérat des métis"[21], was part of the capital's mythology, and this mythology was still very much alive.

> C'est une première caractéristique de la majorité des Bruxellois implantés depuis deux ou trois générations dans une ville-capitale, ils ont perdu le contact avec leur région d'origine[22].

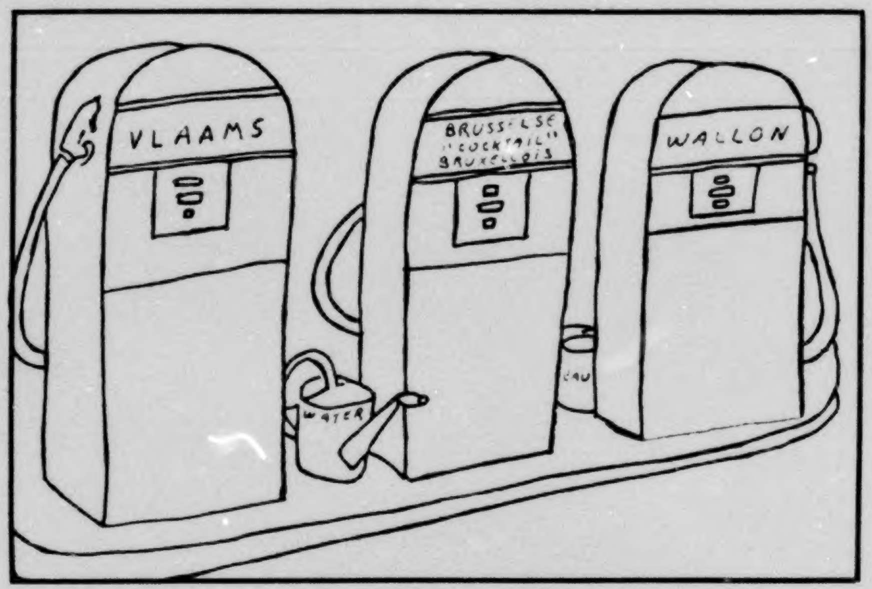
In the past it was Flemings who made the most assertive attack upon the Brussels melting pot that transformed members of their identity group into Francophones in two or three generations. In the wake of the new language laws in the 1960's, however, an increasingly militant Walloon community mounted its own campaign for linguistic ethnicity. *Bruxellois* were the "Americans of Europe", and Brussels a "ville sans âme", not because of what the city did to the language and identity of Flemings, but because of its impact on Walloons. "Sommes-nous des dénationalisés? " asked a leading Francophone radical, using terminology once associated primarily with Flemish extremists[23].

The editorial that appeared in *Le Soir* in 1961 urging the organization of separate ethnic and linguistic institutions within the capital was, therefore, an accurate expression of the centrifugal values dominant in the polar extremes of both language communities:

> Il faut organiser la coexistence et non la fusion des deux communautés. La paix linguistique n'y sera réalisée que si chacun y est enseigné, administré, et jugé par des unilingues relevant de sa communauté linguistique[24].

The difficulty was that the momentum which had led to "fusion" in the past could not easily be reversed. Flemish fathers still enrolled their children in Francophone schools. Francophone exurbanites still migrated to Flemish villages on the outskirts of Brussels and commuted from there to the capital daily. The Brussels "oil-spot", which had been spreading for years, now threatened to become a Francophone corridor connecting Brussels to Wallonia. A cartoon in *Pourquoi Pas?* in 1962 pictures three gasoline tanks at a filling station. The tank on the left is labeled *Vlaams*, the tank on the right *Wallon*, the tank in the middle *Brusselse cocktail bruxellois*[25]. What better symbol for this increasingly polarized city with its alternating pressures for fusion and fission than the Belgian equivalent of a Molotov cocktail?

BRUSSELSE "COCKTAIL" BRUXELLOIS



SOURCE: *Pourquoi pas?* 52, no. 2296 (30 novembre 1962): 3.

Centrifugal Politics

In the centrifugal politics of the 1960's, political rhetoric reflected this fission and fusion. Radicals in each language group tended to view survival in monolithic terms. For Flemings, representatives of a rapidly diminishing linguistic subculture in this increasingly Francophone city, the values attached to the idea of a community subsumed all others. For them, there was only one key political, moral, and educational question: "Does a nationality, if there is a sociocultural or economic pressure in a mixed area on individuals, have a right to protect its people against this pressure?"[26] and only one possible answer to this question: a resounding Yes. "Is Belgium the only country where the political leaders recognize, alongside the rights of man, also the rights of the community?" asked Max Lamberty, the foremost philosopher of the Flemish Movement. According to Lamberty, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was deficient because it neglected to "proclaim equality in dignity and rights to all groups, structures, organizations, and communities of which individual man is inevitably part during his whole existence". Flemings in his view, must protect their people against pressures to assimilate. Indeed, they must build their entire political program around this responsibility, recognizing that the "constant human urge towards the agglomeration of similar types" may not suffice, recognizing that there may be need for "enforcement of segregation" in order to ensure survival[27], recognizing, in other words, the need for strict enforcement of the new language regulations.

It is hardly surprising that for Francophones, representatives of the culture with whom Flemings had freely integrated in the past, the question of whether a nationality has the right to protect its members from pressures to assimilate with a dominant group elicited an entirely different response. For them such concepts as "freedom", "choice", "individualism", constituted a political statement differentiating their ethos from the coercive tactics of radical Flemings. In the words of the FDF *(Front Democratique des Bruxellois Francophones)*:

> Nous revendiquons pour les parents bruxellois quelles que soient leur ascendance et leur origine, le droit de choisir librement entre écoles françaises et les écoles flamandes d'agglomération[28].

The fact that "à Bruxelles, les chefs de famille n'ont pas le droit de décider librement si leurs enfants recevront leur instruction en français ou en flamand"[29] was, therefore, a political issue. True, Francophone school politics were a bit inconsistent. Francophones tended to champion the right of Flemings to select a French-language school and, therefore, a bilingual education for *their* children; but FDF tracts reflected an almost zenophobic fear of bilingualism for Walloons, an ethnocentricity that was almost a bilateral image of the need for an "agglomeration of similar types" that Max Lamberty wrote about. Mandatory study of the second national language starting in the second year in the schools of Brussels provoked violent reactions: "Le bilinguisme prématuré peut être dangereux, et s'il est imposé, il devient antisocial et antidémocratique"[30]. FDF political tracts proclaimed that the simultaneous study of two languages would lead to intellectual retardation and that second language study should be deferred until grades five or six. Better still if that second language not be Flemish[31].

The values espoused by radical Francophones had wide appeal. The so-called ***Manifest des 29***, for example, a call for the restoration of free choice in education which was published both in Flemish and in French, gained the support of eighteen of the nineteen Communal Councils in Brussels in 1968:

> Ce libre choix est essentiel pour ceux qui veulent rester dans une société respectueuse des droits de la personne. Le principe de la liberté du père de famille devrait être introduit et respecté[32].

Granted, *liberté du père de famille* was bound to strike a responsive chord among Francophone-Flemings who were engaged in an internecine quarrel with their separatist brethren, but the fact that this manifesto had support in both linguistic communities is evidence enough of the centripetal forces that were still ubiquitous in an era of centrifugal politics. The ***Brusselse cocktail bruxellois*** had a short fuse.

The Strasbourg Case

The Dilemma in Flanders

The first explosion over the issue of parental freedom did not, however, take place in Brussels, where many mandates of the Language Law of 1963 did not go into effect for several years, but in Flanders, where regulations were tightened at the point the *Pacte Scolaire* brought subsidized Catholic schools under the provisions of the language laws in 1959. With the abolition of the linguistic section of the 1960 census[33], the freezing of the language line in 1962[34] the phasing out of transmutation classes[35] and the end of subsidy to non-conforming schools in 1963[36], Francophones in Flanders who wanted to enroll their children in French-language schools found their options severely limited. Add to this, the new regulations surrounding homologation, *i.e.*, the process which entitled the bearer of a diploma to enroll at a Belgian university or to apply for certain civil service jobs. The Language Law of 1932 had stipulated that only those students who had followed courses in the regional language in Flanders or Wallonia were entitled to homologation[37], but others could be examined in the regional language by a Central Jury in order to have their diplomas validated. Even before passage of the 1963 law with its limitation of homologation only to graduates of schools that conformed to the language regulations[38] however, the Central Jury had made its examinations prohibitively difficult. Thereafter, homologation became close to impossible[39].

By the 1960's, therefore, Francophones in Flanders had few real options if they wished a French-language education for their children. They could send their child to a non-subsidized, non-conforming school, but in so doing they would lose all possibility of homologation. Or they could send the child to a school in Wallonia; but the distance for small children would present a problem, and boarding school would disrupt family life. They could *not* send the child to a Francophone school in Brussels, even if the family was Francophone — not unless the family moved to Brussels and succeeded in having their language declaration accepted. Nor would it be possible to send the child to a Francophone school in one of the bilingual villages on the language line or in one of the six *communes à facilités* on the periphery of Brussels. Only Francophones living in these villages could avail themselves of these schools. Of course, similar regulations applied to Wallonia where the only option available for Flemings who might wish a Netherlandish education for their children was to send them to a school in Flanders. But fewer Flemings living in Wallonia expressed dissatisfaction about this arrangement than did Francophones in Flanders[40].

Confrontation

The Language Law of 1963 provided for a Commission or Jury to review contested decisions of the language inspectorate in Brussels, but Francophones living in Flanders who wanted their children educated in French-language schools had no legal recourse within Belgium. They could, however, and did seek redress for their grievances in the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. It was perfectly proper for these Francophones to do so, for Belgium was a signatory to the European Convention of Human Rights, which provided for the "collective enforcement of ... the Universal Declaration of Human Rights"[41] in this European Court. Their action was, nevertheless, startling. In most countries the European Convention has served as a point of reference for the interpretation of domestic law. In only a handful of cases have citizens gone so far as to name their own government the defendant and the justice of their nation's laws the issue within the European Court itself[42]. The very fact, therefore, that Francophones from Flanders elected this recourse heightened tensions over the language crisis in Belgium, especially tensions in Brussels — even before language cases there began to go to Commission and Jury for review.

In 1962 twenty-three French-speaking parents from two villages in Flemish territory on the outskirts of Brussels, Alsemberg and Beersel, filed a brief with the European Court of Human Rights charging that they were denied opportunity to educate their children in their mother tongue and therefore denied their human rights[43]. Later that year five Francophone parents from the village of Kraaienem, also on the Brussels perimeter, filed a similar brief, which pointed out that, although the population of this village was now 61.17%

Francophone, it was still treated as part of the unilingual Flemish territory in which Netherlandish was the official language of education[44]. They were followed by sixty-two parents from Antwerp, who focussed their attack on "regional linguistic homogeneity" and on the fact that rigid enforcement of such homogeneity would force their children into Netherlandish schools and thus deny them a mother tongue education[45].

> Nos enfants sont placés en état d'infériorité dans leurs moyens d'expression à l'égard de leurs maîtres, et, dans les compétitions et concours, à l'egard de leurs condisciples de classe ... Privés dès leur jeune âge de l'accoutumance à l'usage de leur langue maternelle, ils en arrivent à s'exprimer dans un langage incorrect, métissé, imprécis et dépourvu de toute nuance, qui constituera pour eux un lourd handicap dans la carrière[46]

And the suit of these Antwerp parents was, in turn, joined by ninety-two more Francophone parents from Ghent and nearby areas, all with similar complaints[47].

Following passage of the Language Laws of July 30 and August 2, 1963, more briefs followed. Fifty-seven Francophone Flemings from Louvain and environs charged that the abolition of transmutation classes, plus restriction on enrollment of children at the *L'Institut du Sacré-Coeur*, an institute conducted by a teacher training division of the University of Louvain, had denied them opportunity to select a French-language education for their children[48]. One hundred and forty-five Francophone parents from Mol complained that they were no longer allowed to send their children to the European School utilized by non-Belgians employed in the nuclear facility in that area[49]. In 1964 eighty-five Francophone parents from Vilvoorde filed a complaint because transmutation classes to which they had hitherto sent their children no longer existed[50]. All told, the complaints of 324 of these Belgians were joined, and in some cases modified and extended[51] to become the *Case "Relating to Certain Aspects of the Laws on the Use of Languages in Education in Belgium"*, which was argued before the European Court of Human Rights in 1966-1967[52].

The issues at stake in Strasbourg revolved around three points of international law, all derived from the European Convention of Human Rights (See appendix H): that the Belgian government had interfered with the right to a private and family life by denying the children of the plaintiffs opportunity for a mother tongue education within commuting range of home (Article 3); that the Belgian government had discriminated against them on grounds of language (Article 14); that the Belgian government had denied them the "right to an education" and was not respecting the right of parents to ensure that a child be reared "in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions" (First Protocol, Article 2). Except for the parents from Kraainem, whom a minority of the review commission considered justified in their complaint[53], the plaintiffs lost their case. As far as the European Court of Human Rights was concerned, Belgium *did* have the right to impose a territorial language on Francophones, hardly an auspicious example for those Brussels parents who confronted similar restraints to their right to a language of education between 1966 and 1971[54].

The were major differences, however, between the Strasbourg Case and the gathering storm in Brussels. Parents in Brussels were as ready as parents in Strasbourg to charge government interference with their rights, but the parents at Strasbourg were members of a Francophone minority seeking a mother tongue education in unilingual Flemish territory or in Flemish villages on the language line. The basic issue in bilingual Brussels was the right to make a choice between a mother tongue and a *non* mother tongue education. At issue in Strasbourg was the right to maintain links with one's linguistic identity group within alien territory. At issue in Brussels was the right to reject categorization into a particular linguistic regime. And even this rejection would have remained largely theoretical had not the government acceded to Flemish demands in November 1966 to exact full compliance with the Language Law of July 30, 1963.

Human Rights in the Schools of Brussels

The Language Inspectorate

The *Arrêtés du 30 novembre 1966* changed life in Brussels. Between 1963 and 1966 the overall attitude toward implementation of that part of the new language law which mandated the separation of Flemings into Dutch- and Francophones into French-language schools was indifference, even on the part of the Ministry of Education[55]. Thereafter, the law could no longer be ignored, and this fact in itself heightened tensions in the city. According to *Wallonie libre*:

> Les arrêtés d'application des lois reconnues mauvaises ne peuvent avoir que des effets nocifs ... Seule la modification des lois dans le sens de la liberté en ce qui concerne Bruxelles peut apporter des éléments positifs[56].

At issue for Francophones was a conception of freedom symbolized by the idea of *liberté du père de famille*:

> Le problème qui oppose francophones et flamands au sujet du statut linguistique de l'enseignement dans l'agglomération bruxelloise est celui de la liberté du père de famille[57].

But over and above this abstract issue was another concern: the impact of implementation of the new statutes on a child, who might be "gravement traumatisé" by a linguistic interrogation in the classroom[58]. Language inspectors were widely feared even before they began their expanded functions.

The language inspectorate had made a short-lived and unpopular appearance on the Brussels scene during World War I when the Council of Flanders had sent a linguistic police into the Brussels schools to check on the birthplace of schoolchildren and their parents[59]. It had reappeared in the wake of the Language Law of 1932, but at that time its functions were subsidiary to those of the school principal, whose job it was to verify language declarations and to call in the inspectorate only in case of doubt[60]. Implicit in the Language Law of 1963, however, was the assumption that the language declaration must reflect linguistic reality:

> Dans le projet actuel encore, la déclaration du chef de famille sera la base qui déterminera le rôle linguistique de l'enfant, mais cette déclaration doit être la constatation d'un fait et nullement l'expression d'un voeu relatif à la langue dans laquelle les parents désirent que leur enfant reçoive l'instruction[61].

The language declaration would continue to be the point of departure, but two language inspectors, one Netherlandish, one Francophone, rather than the school principal, would have the job of checking it: "Toutes les déclarations linguistiques seront visées par deux inspecteurs appartenant à l'un et l'autre rôle linguistique"[62].

The new decrees regulated all details of this control: the forms that were to be used (see appendix I), the procedures that were to be followed. If the inspectors disagreed on the correctness of the language declaration, the case would be heard by a Commission composed of a chairman and deputy chosen from present, former, or honorary bilingual officers of the "tribunaux de première instance", and of an equal number of language inspectors from each linguistic community. The Commission's ruling could be appealed to a Jury composed of present, retired, or honorary bilingual Judges of Appeal and of equal numbers of general state inspectors from each linguistic community. Or parents could appeal directly to the Jury in cases where both language inspectors challenged their declaration[63].

After November 1966, therefore, the act of enrolling a child in school became a proceeding fraught with legal peril. In actuality, the head of the school continued to make preliminary assessment of the language declaration. The child had to present either a certificate from the school where he or she was previously enrolled attesting that the previous instruction was in the language of the new school enrollment, or if the child was entering school for the first time, a language declaration signed by the head of the child's family. The declaration had to be completely filled out, dated, signed by the head of the family, and could not carry any "injurieuse" annotation"[64]. Once this declaration had been approved by the language inspectors, and it had to be approved within one month of the initial school enrollment, it followed the child throughout school and could not be changed.

That the initial screening of students might present heads of schools with difficulty is evident from the memos outlining possible enrollment snags sent out by the Ministries of Education. For children enrolled in French-language schools, for example, and of course it was in these schools that most of the difficulties arose, sample situations could include the following:

1) The child had never been to school: If the head of the family lived in the unilingual French-language region, there was no problem. Residence alone would give the child the right to a French-language education. If the head of the family did not live in the French region, then a language declaration had to be completed before the child could have provisional enrollment.
2) The child had already attended a nursery or primary French-language school in Brussels: In this case the existing declaration followed the child to school, although a valid certificate showing that the child had completed previous studies in French would suffice for preliminary enrollment.
3) The child came from a school in the Flemish region, but his or her mother tongue was French: The head of the family had to fill out a valid language certificate. In this case the language inspectorate would scrutinize the situation very carefully.
4) The child had gone to a French-language school in one of the six *communes à facilités*: The child must have a valid certificate from the previous school for preliminary enrollment"[65].

The problems faced by school personnel in determining the legality of a provisional enrollment were only the beginning. Within a month *all* new language declarations had to be checked by language inspectors, a complicated and at times politically explosive task. "Le contrôle ne sera ni tracassier, ni arbitraire, mais efficace""[66], stated a Ministerial directive. For the inspector, however, to be efficacious and at the same time to avoid harassment represented a particular challenge. He had to be able to recognize a case of "réel bilinguisme de l'enfant", because in that case the parents could indeed decide which language would be the medium of instruction. He could not directly interrogate the child, but he could query the head of the school and the child's teachers — and he could visit the child's classes along with his colleague from the other language regime and discuss with the child matters other than language:

> En outre, l'inspecteur linguistique, comme tout inspecteur pédagogique, a accès à la classe en cause et peut, dans le cadre de l'activité de la classe et avec le tact voulu, poser des questions et parler avec les enfants de cette activité[67].

He could, in other words, learn to walk on eggshells while gathering evidence for his report.

The Legal Maze

How effective was this inspectorate? That it was efficient in carrying out its functions we have no reason to doubt. Even so, the number of cases actually tried before the Commission was not large: 26 in 1967-68, 21 in 1968-69, 39 in 1969-70, 17 in 1970-71. Of these 133 cases, however, only 41 terminated with a mandate to send a child to a Netherlandish school — and of these, 20 were appealed to the Jury. (See Table 18) As for the Jury, it heard 116 cases, sent 33 children to Netherlandish schools, and of these four appealed to the *Conseil d'Etat*. (See Table 19) The *Conseil d'Etat*, in turn, reversed one Jury decision and accepted the other three. In total, during this period only 53 children were placed in Netherlandish instead of in French-language schools because of the new linguistic controls.

TABLE 18

Commission Cases: 1967-1971

Disposition	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	Total
Allowed to stay in French schools	19	11	10	15	55
Required to go to Netherlandish schools	7	10	18	6	41
Allowed to say in Netherlandish schools	-	- -	1	6	7
Classed as without merit	-	- -	10	- -	10
Still in progress*	- -	- -	- -	19	19
Total	**26**	**21**	**39**	**47**	**133**
Appealed to Jury	**4**	**7**	**9**	**- -**	**20****

SOURCE: Ministerie van Nationale Opvoeding en Nederlandse Cultuur. Memo dated March 13, 1971.

*As of March 13, 1971.

**Other cases during these years went directly to the Jury, i.e., cases where *both* language inspectors challenged the placement of the child in a particular linguistic regime.

TABLE 19

Jury Cases: 1967-1971

Disposition	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	Total
Allowed to stay in French schools	8	15	23	4	50
Required to go to Netherlandish schools	4	10	15	4	33
Allowed to stay in Netherlandish schools	- -	- -	3	5	8
Classed as without merit	- -	- -	4	- -	4
Jury incompetent to judge	1	2	- -	- -	3
Binding agreement	- -	1	- -	- -	1
Still in progress*	- -	- -	1	16	17
Total	**13**	**28**	**46**	**29**	**116**

SOURCE: Ministerie van Nationale Opvoeding en Nederlandse Cultuur. Memo dated November 3, 1971.

*As of March 13, 1971.

These figures, of course, give us no idea of the degree to which the inspectorate functioned as a deterent, no idea of the extent that enrollment patterns reflected compliance with the law simply because the inspectorate was there — or even because school officials refused a provisional enrollment because of irregularities in the language declaration. We *do* have school enrollment figures for these years, however, and from them fairly conclusive evidence that very little had actually changed despite the political hue and cry. As we noted in the last chapter, between 1959 and 1971 enrollment in official Dutch-language schools continued its steady decline. Even before the partial restoration of *liberté du père de famille* in September 1971, the Language Law of 1963 had not changed old patterns.

What did change was the relationship between families in Brussels and their schools. Only a minority of children and their parents were caught up in the legal maze, but the fact that the maze existed concerned everyone:

> Les mesures prises et à prendre intéressent donc 110,000 enfants, dont les parents, grands-parents et alliés se sentent concernés. Il est temps de leur rendre confiance, en supprimant des tracasseries administratives impopulaires et inadéquates qui, pour tout dire, leur apparaissent comme contraignantes à la liberté[68].

The issues for those whose language declarations were challenged by the inspectorate were both more universal than *liberté du père de famille*, and more narrow: more universal because freedom was the issue, more narrow because the legal framework sometimes revolved around points of law that had little to do with language or freedom. Some families tried to evade the law by filling out *two* language declarations, one for one language, one for the other. In some cases they even argued that a declaration signed by the mother could not be valid because only a male could be *chef de famille*[69], an argument which presented a curious dilemma for families in which no father was present. The universal human right to family life, to freedom, to an education was all too frequently a peripheral issue for families intent on proving a legal point that would make *liberté du pere de famille* once again possible. It was even peripheral to arguments based on the probable impact of a new school regime on the emotional and scholastic future of a child, particularly a child who has already had a difficult school adjustment[70].

The fact that families had to fight before a Commission or Jury — and in four cases before the *Conseil d'Etat*[71] — for a freedom previously viewed as a fundamental right exacerbated the already explosive linguistic tensions within the city. There were families who lost their appeal. The father of Maria Kouvas, a Greek immigrant who tried to argue that because he had never signed a language declaration while living in Flanders he could now enroll his daughter in a French-language school in Brussels, lost his case[72]. So did Dominique le Fevere de ten Hove, whose earlier education had taken place entirely in the Netherlandish regime, first in Flanders, then in Brussels, and who tried to claim that he was really a Francophone despite twelve years in Flemish schools. His father even sent a series of letters to the Jury outlining long-term plans to send the boy to a French-language university and giving "permission" for his son to attend a French-language technical school, but to no avail. Dominique, who was eighteen at the time these proceedings took place, had already become — in the eyes of Belgian law — a Fleming[73]. The courts were frequently *very* strict in upholding the letter of the law when dealing with an individual who had gone to school in a territorial language, who had been assimilated into the territorial cultural community, and less strict with the children of Francophone Flemings in Brussels. This was, indeed, a legal maze.

Only a minority of cases actually went against the parents — a fact which in itself became a political issue. As Senator René Bourgeois, a Francophone, pointed out, the number of cases won by the parents "prouve que, deux fois sur trois, la décision prise par les inspecteurs linguistiques est contestable ou même incorrecte"[74]. As often as not, the letter of the law did *not* win the day. The father of Irène Parmentier freely admitted that he filled out two language declarations, one stating that Netherlandish was the mother tongue or usual language, one stating that French was. But he argued that his intent was not to disobey the law, that his intent was to give the child opportunity to learn both national languages, that he had always planned to have his daughter attend secondary school in the French regime because he was a Francophone — and the Jury let him do so[75]. Judith Spikerman, a child born in the United States of Dutch parents, was allowed to stay in a French-language school despite the claim of the language inspectorate that she was subject to Belgian language law because she knew Dutch, one of Belgium's national languages[76]. Anne Marie Breckpot was allowed to stay in a French-language school even though she had previously attended a Dutch school in Flanders. The argument: the mother tongue of the child was French and no other school had been available in the unilingual territory[77]. Anne Pourvoyeur, whose father was a member of the Francophone faculty at the University of Louvain, was eventually allowed to enroll in a French language school, a decision rendered in January 1968 when the Louvain riots were at their height[78]. The traditional language structure was far from dead.

For the citizens of Brussels the harassment eased in September 1971 with partial restoration of *liberté du père de famille*[79]. (See Appendix K) Hereinafter, the family could choose *either* a French- or a Netherlandish- regime — or even switch a child from one regime to the other. Immigrants from Flanders would still have to prove that they were really Francophones if they wished to enroll their children in French-language schools, and residents of the six *communes à facilités*, including Americans, were still subject to stringent regulations[80]. But for the majority of *Bruxellois*, the *Brusselse Cocktail bruxellois* had been defused.

Bruxellois paid a price for this defusion. Brussels would remain a bilingual zone within the multilingual federation which was in the process of taking shape in the third revision of the Belgian Constitution but would not be granted a separate bilingual identity equal in status to that of the semi-autonomous linguistic cultural communities which were to assume responsibility for social and educational institutions within their respective domains. We will examine the impact of this compromise in the final chapter. In the next chapter, however, let us turn once again to the troubled years between 1966 and 1971.

Notes

[1] Sénat de Belgique, Interpellation de M. Bourgeois, Séance du 25 mars 1970 (Bruxelles: Moniteur Belge, 1970), pp. 8-10.

[2] European Court of Human Rights, *Case 'Relating to Certain Aspects of the Laws on the Use of Languages in Belgium'*, 2 vols. (Strasbourg: Registry of the Court, Council of Europe, 1967-1968).

[3] Robert Senelle, *The Belgian Constitution: Commentary, Memo From Belgium* 166 (1974) (Bruxelles: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, External Trade and Cooperation in Development, 1974).

[4] *Loi du 29 mai 1959*, Article 24 (2).

[5] Recounted in *Annales Parlementaires*, Chambre, 20 avril 1932, p. 1500.

[6] Rassemblement pour le droit et la liberté, *Contre le fanatisme et contre la tyrannie linguistique* (Tervueren: RDL, 1964), p. 3. (The use of languages has become in Belgium what the practice of religion was at the time of the 16th century civil wars: a shackle on the freedom of the individual.)

[7] *Le Soir*, 19 octobre 1966, pp. 1-2. (... which wounds and will wound the conscience profoundly and will be the source of multiple vexing and irritating worries.)

[8] *La Dernière Heure*, 15 février 1967, p. 1. (The language inspection cannot degenerate into a witch hunt.)

[9] *De Standaard*, 15-16 oktober 1966.

[10] *Loi du 12 mai 1910*, Article 6.

[11] *Loi du 14 juillet 1932*, Article 7.

[12] *Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique et du Congo Belge* 58 (Gand: Vanderpoorten, 1935), p. xxiii). Courrier Hebdomadaire du CRISP, 466-467, 16 février 1970.

[13] *Annales Parlementaires*, Sénat, 23 juillet 1963, p. 1476. (The principle basic to the law of 1932 is not freedom of choice by the head of the family: it is the primordial character of the mother tongue or usual language. It is in that tongue that the child ought to be taught.)

[14] *Arrêté d'application de la loi Belge du 30 juillet 1963 concernant le régime linguistique dans l'enseignement*, 30 novembre 1966.

[15] Archives de la Ville de Bruxelles, *Bulletin Communal*, no 20 (3 octobre 1966): 487. (For my part, I receive the complaints of parents, and you guess which ones, who when they enroll their children at nursery school are astonished to see that every right to the choice of language in which their children will be taught is gone.)

[16] *Le Soir*, 15 octobre 1962, p. 1. (The march on Brussels took place in tumult.) See also Manu Ruys, *The Flemings, a People on the Move, a Nation in Being* (Tield: Lannoo, 1973), p. 165.

[17] *Bulletin Communal*, no 3 (7 février 1966): 401.

[18] *Bulletin Communal*, no 16 (27 juin 1966): 1777. (... the streets of Brussels saw 500 Flemish students march. Noisy, coarse, insolent, they went everywhere with their hostile cries and their bellicose signs, "Walloons get out".)

[19] Maurice P. Herremans, *La Question flamande* (Nivelles: Havaux, 1948), p. 178. (Brussels is neither Flemish nor Walloon, and it is at the same time one and the other ... Brussels is the only city that is essentially Belgian.)

[20] Maurits van Haegendoren, "Ethno-Linguistic Cleavage in Belgium", *Case Studies on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, vol. 2, William A. Veenhoven *et al*, eds. (The Hague: Martinus Nyhoff, 1975): 2:15.

[21] Jules Destrée, *La lettre au Roi sur la séparation de la Wallonie et de la Flandre* (Gembloux: Wallonie libre, 1968 [1912]), p. 17.

[22] Jean Francis, *Lettre ouverte à trois millions cent quatre-vingt mille cent dix-huit wallons* (Bruxelles: Musin, 1974), p. 6. (It is the first characteristic of the majority of Bruxellois, after two or three generations of living in the capital city, that they have lost contact with the territory from which they came.)

[23] René Bourgeois, "Bruxelles, ville sans âme?" *Le Flambeau* 46e année, nos 9-10 (novembre-décembre 1963): 560.

[24] *Le Soir*, 10-11 septembre 1961, p. 4. (It is necessary to organize the co-existence and not the fusion of the two communities. Linguistic peace will not be realized until each is taught, administrated, and judged there by unilinguals coming out of his or her own language community.)

[25] *Pourquoi Pas?* 52e année, no 2296 (30 novembre 1962), p. 3.

[26] Haegendoren, "Ethno-Linguistic Cleavage", p. 16.

[27] Max Lamberty, "The Rights of Minority Groups, People, and the State", *Plural Societies* (Autumn 1971): 47.

[28] *Front Démocratique des Bruxellois Francophones FDF* (Bruxelles: FDF, 1965), p. 8. (We claim for the parents of Brussels, whatever their ancestry and origin, the right to choose freely between French and Flemish schools in the city.)

[29] *Que veulent les Bruxellois.* Un sondage d'opinion à l'initiative du Rassemblement pour le Droit et la Liberté (RDL) sur le régime linguistique dans la région de Bruxelles (Bruxelles: Rossel, [1968]), p. 17. (... in Brussels, the heads of families do not have freedom to choose if their children will receive instruction in French or Flemish.)

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 18. (Premature bilingualism can be dangerous: and if it is imposed, it becomes antisocial and antidemocratic.)

[31] FDF, 1970, pp. 44-45. As a compromise the FDF was ready to call for freedom to switch back and forth between language regimes; but it did not favor early bilingualism.

[32] *Manifeste du 29*, 29 juillet 1968. *Courrier hebdomadaire du CRISP* (Centre de Recherche et d'Information Socio-Politiques), nos 144-145 (30 mai 1969): 42. (Free choice is essential for those who want to remain a society that respects the rights of the individual. The principle of freedom for the father of the family ought to be introduced and respected.)

[33] *Arrêté du 3 novembre 1961*.

[34] *Loi du 8 novembre 1962*.

[35] *Loi du 30 juillet 1963*, Article 7.

[36] *Circulaire ministérielle du 9 août 1963*.

[37] *Loi du 15 juillet 1932*, Article 2.

[38] *Loi du 30 juillet 1963*, Article 10.

[39] See *Case* 1:192-193 ff. The role of the Central Jury is a major factor in the Strasbourg Case.

[40] Maurice Pièrre Herremans. *Le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme.* Rapport sur le bilinguisme dans la fonction publique et dans le système scolaire de la Belgique, comprenant un historique du problème et mettant la situation au point d'après les lois de 1963. Rapport présenté en application du contrat intervenu entre la Commission Royale d'Enquête sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme et le Centre de Recherche et d'Information Socio-Politiques, CRISP (Bruxelles: 1965), pp. 155-156.

[41] Preamble to the European Convention of Human Rights.

[42] A.H. Roberson, *Human Rights in the World* (Manchester: University Press, 1972), p. 57.

[43] *Case* 1:26-28.

[44] *Ibid.*, 1:28-29.

[45] *Ibid.*, 1:29-32.

[46] *Ibid.*, 1:31. (Our children are placed in an inferior position in regard to their ability to express themselves to their teachers and to compete with their peers ... Denied from an early age the habit of using their mother tongue, they reach a point where they express themselves in an incorrect, mongrel, imprecise, and impoverished language which lacks nuance, a situation which will become a heavy handicap for them in a career.)

[47] *Ibid.*, 1:32.

[48] *Ibid.*, 1:32-35.

[49] *Ibid.*, 1:32-37.

[50] *Ibid.*, 1:38-39.

[51] *Ibid.*, 1:32, footnote.

[52] The Mol case was not made part of the larger suit because of the possibility of a friendly settlement. *Case* 1:25.

[53] *Case* 2:98-102. The majority of the Commission found the complaints of Kraainem parents to be ill-founded, but M. Petrén dissented, noting the discrepency between the reality of there being a Francophone majority in that commune and the fact that parents had to conform to regulations drafted for communes in which Flemings constituted the majority.

[54] The Strasbourg Case was carefully covered by the Brussels press. See, for example, *Le Soir*, 25 février 1967, p. 1; 25 novembre 1967, p. 1; 28 novembre 1967, p. 1; 29 novembre 1967, p. 1; 30 novembre 1967, p. 1; 1er décembre 1967, p. 2; 13 juillet 1968, p. 2; 11-12 août 1968, p. 2.

[55] Conversation with J. Doppagne, Nivelles, June 28, 1976.

[56] *Le Soir*, 6 décembre 1966, p. 2. (The decrees ordering application of laws known to be bad can only have injurious effects ... only the modification of the laws toward freedom for Brussels can have positive effects.)

[57] *Le Peuple*, 14 octobre 1966, pp. 1-2. (The problem which divides Francophones and Flemings in Brussels on the subject of the linguistic statutes is that of *liberté du père de famille*.)

[58] *Le Soir*, 19 octobre 1966, p. 1.

[59] Richart de Cneudt, *De vervlaamsching van het lager onderwijs in groot Brussel* (Brussel: A. Hessens, 1918), p. 92. See also, Les Archives du Conseil de Flandre, publiées par la Ligue Nationale pour l'Unité Belge (Bruxelles: Th. Dewarichet, 1929), p. 120.

[60] *Loi du 14 juillet 1932*, Article 7.

[61] *Annales Parlementaires*, 27 juillet 1963, p. 22. (Moreover, in the actual project, the declaration of the head of the family will be the starting point which will determine the linguistic regime of the child, but that declaration ought to be the statement of a fact and not the expression of a wish relative to the language in which the parents whant their child to receive instruction.)

[62] *Loi du 30 juillet 1963*, Article 18.

[63] 30 novembre 1966. *Arrêté royal déterminant le fonctionnement de l'inspection linguistique en matière d'enseignement*, Articles 7-9.

[64] Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Culture, *Inspection Linguistique*, Aux directions des écoles gardiennes et primaires de l'arrondissement de Bruxelles-Capitale. Réf. IV/61/68, IL/68/2. Minsterie van Nationale Oproeding en Nederlandse Culturer, "Taalinspectie, Ref. TI 68/7. IV/64/68.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] *Le Fonctionnement de l'Inspection Linguistique en Matière d'Enseignement.* (Internal memo, dated 5 october 1967) p. 5. (Control will be neither harassing, nor arbitrary, but efficacious.)

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 8. (Moreover, the language inspector like all school inspectors has reason to have access to the class and can, in the course of class activity and with tact, ask questions and talk with the children about the class activity.)

[68] *Le Peuple*, 14 octobre 1966, p. 1. (The measures taken and to be taken concern then 110,000 children about whom parents, grandparents, and allies feel concerned. It is time to give them confidence by suppressing the unpopular and inadequate administrative harassment which, to tell the truth, appears to them to be a constraint on freedom.)

[69] Dossier, 49/69 Jury. The father *did* have more rights than the mother until 1974 when "le principe de l'égalité de droit absolu entre époux à l'égard des enfants" was affirmed by the Ministries of Education. Note du 14 novembre 1974, réf. I/MCM/13.11.02821 in compliance with the *Loi du 1er juin 1974*.

[70] Dossier, 80/70 Jury.

[71] The *Conseil d'Etat* rendered the final ruling in cases concerning Maria Kouras, Dossier 3/67, A. 15.676/VI – 3969, No. 13.680; Marlys vande Weerdt, Dossier 13/68, A. 16.217/VI – 4155, No. 13.920; Catherine Kerstiens, Dossier 20/69, A. 16.348, No. 13.679; Peter Vermiere, Dossier 47/69, A. 17.121/VI – 4452.

[72] Dossier 3/67. Conseil d'Etat, A. 15.676/VI 3969, No. 13.680.

[73] Dossier 50/69 Jury.

[74] Sénat de Belgique, *Interpellation de M. Bourgeois*, Séance du 25 mars 1970 (Bruxelles: Moniteur Belge, 1970), p. 7.

[75] Dossier 31/69 Jury.

[76] Dossier 80/70 Jury.

[77] Dossier 3/67 Commission.

[78] Dossier 5/67 Commission.

[79] *Loi du 26 juillet 1971*, Article 88.

[80] The linguistic tensions of the six *communes à facilités* are worthy of further intensive study. Before the freezing of the language line, bilingual villages on the periphery of Brussels such as these would have eventually become a part of the Brussels agglomeration. As it is, Brussels is now limited by law to its nineteen communes, and these six villages are legally in Flemish territory. (See Appendix E.) They are, as we have already noted, a favorite residential area for commuters to Brussels, a group which includes a number of Walloons, as well as a sizeable international community, including Americans attached to NATO, to international business firms, or to the American Embassy. Many American children attend the Department of Defense School or the International School in Brussels, but some are enrolled in Belgian schools. Americans, however, encountered difficulty enrolling their children in the French-language schools in the six communes during the years under discussion; for the inspectorate was particularly vigilant in their limitation of enrollment in Francophone schools to those who could prove linguistic prowess in French as well as legal residence — and competence in French was frequently not an American accomplishment upon arrival in Belgium. No exact statistics were made available to the author, but she was told in a private conversation in June 1976 with J. Doppagne, language inspector for the French Ministry of Education, that the Commission or Jury had decided against Americans in these communities more than twenty times, thus forcing them to find alternatives for their children to the French-language schools close to home.

CHAPTER VIII

CONFLICT AND ACCOMMODATION

Introduction

That the actual patterns of education in Brussels did not always fall within the bilateral centrifugal design demanded by law after 1932 is the thrust of this study. Between 1966 and 1971, however, the years when the language laws were most stringently enforced, the dominant centrifugal ethos demanded conformity to such a strict separation of Flemings and Francophones that the range of defiance came to include patterns of education not open to previous scrutiny. The conflict was still between Flemish Separatists and Francophones, or would-be Francophones, engaged in an internecine quarrel, and the issue was still the linguistic, ethnic, and cultural identity of a child. But this issue — where there was a question — was now decided by the language inspectorate, or by the Commission, or by the Jury, according to complex legal criteria.

That Francophone-Flemings found themselves at the focal point of conflict is hardly surprising. The language shift had accelerated. Although no linguistic census is available, we know that 86% of the residents of Brussels selected a French-language identity card in 1968 — and close to that percentage chose to serve in the French-language sector of the Army. Even in the *communes à facilités* a strong majority chose French for these functions. (See Table 20) Conflict between the inspectorate and the parents of Dutch-French bilingual children enrolled in Francophone schools was unavoidable if the new laws were to be enforced. But new patterns of conflict also began to emerge: conflict with young Flemish adults seeking a French-language regime in technical or commercial schools, with foreigners seeking a French-language education for their children, with *Bruxellois* who were attempting to educate their children for linguistic pluralism rather than for language shift. Even Flemings who first enrolled their children in Francophone schools and then attempted to reinstate them in schools of the Netherlandish regime were subject to checks by the inspectorate and possible scrutiny by Commission or Jury. There was conflict, therefore, over the entire range of educational patterns that expressed the centripetal ethos of the past, and even over some that attempted accommodation with the centrifugal present.

TABLE 20

Percentage of Francophones and Neerlandophones in Brussels and in the Six Communes Facilities: 1947 and 1968

	Census — 1947			Identity Card 1968		Military Service 1968	
	French	Neth.	Other	French	Neth.	French	Neth.
Brussels	70.61	24.24	5.5	86.45	13.55	84.96	15.04
Les six	33.32	62.01	4.67	60.25	39.75	55.90	44.00

SOURCE: *Courrier hebdomadaire du CRISP*, 466-467, 16 février 1970

In this chapter we will probe the way these conflicts erupted, the aspirations of some of the parents and students who were involved, and the outcome of the judicial proceedings that ensued. The approach is of necessity anecdotal — an attempt to give immediacy to this extraordinary epoch in the annals of bilingual education by introducing some of the members of the cast of characters that occupied center stage. The case histories, however, illustrate another point. They are concrete examples of patterns of defiance which range along the entire centripetal-centrifugal spectrum, and as such provide the basis for a typology of conflict. (See Table 21) The enrollment of Flemish children in Netherlandish schools and of Walloon children in French-language schools represents one polarity, education for language maintenance, the only pattern prescribed by law. Any other linguistic pattern, and this includes most patterns of "bilingual education" found in the past, falls within the area of conflict in our typology — whether it be outright education for assimilation, the enrollment of Flemish children in French-language schools (or of Walloon children in Netherlandish schools), or education for cultural pluralism or even the belated enrollment of Flemish children in Netherlandish schools after an initial exposure to a Francophone milieu. In this typology conflict implies conflict with the law itself as well as with members of another language group.

TABLE 21

A Typology of Patterns of Conflict in the Schools of Brussels, 1966-1971

Conflict		**Accomodation**
Centripetal Patterns (Assimilation)	**Pluralist Patterns**	**Centrifugal Patterns (Segregation)**
Immigrants from Flanders in French-language schools (or from Wallonia in Dutch-language schools) ←	The children of foreigners in French-language schools ←	Walloons in French-language schools → Flemings in Netherlandish schools →
Flemings or Francophone-Flemings in French-language schools ←	Young Flemish adults in French language post-secondary schools ←	
	Children educated in both regimes for a balanced bilingualism → ←	
	Flemish children shifted from a French to a Netherlandish school →	

Patterns of Conflict

The Francophone Education of Immigrants from Flanders

They returned to Brussels in the 1960's, reacting to the stringency of the new language laws in Flanders, a new wave of immigrants, many with bilingual children who had spoken French at home while attending Dutch-language schools, others with monolingual Dutch-speaking children. Some parents had filled out a language declaration years ago which claimed Flemish as the mother tongue. Some now tried to fill out a new declaration claiming French to be dominant. Some, after conflict with Commission or Jury, succeeded in substantiating a Francophone identity. Some did not succeed at all.

Pascale Veronique Berrevoets: The Persistence of a Flemish Identity[1]

The family of Pascale Veronique Berrevoets did *not* succeed in enrolling their child in a French-language school in Brussels. Pascale, who was born in Brussels, the child of a *bruxellois* father and a native Flemish mother, was seven years old in 1969 when the family returned to the capital city after several years residence in Flanders. Attempts to enroll Pascale, who had heretofore attended Dutch-language schools, in the French-language regime in Brussels met with difficulties from the beginning. An earlier language declaration stated that the mother tongue or usual language was a category that does not legally exist in bilingual Belgium — "bilingue". On a second declaration, which listed French as the mother tongue, the father appended a note attesting to the Francophone identity of the family and of its desire for Pascale to be a Francophone now that they were returning to Brussels. Perhaps the family protested too much, but it was for compelling *legal* reasons that neither the French-language nor the Netherlandish inspector would accept the second declaration: irregularities in the first declaration, prior attendance at a school using a territorial language different from the regime selected in Brussel. It was illegal to emigrate to Brussels for the purpose of switching language regimes. Even more important, the child was not a balanced bilingual. The Netherlandish inspector reported succinctly, and without qualification, that the language of the child was Netherlandish. And the French inspector concurred, noting in his report that, although Pascale spoke "de bonne grâce" in Dutch, the French was so feeble that the child did not know simple French words: "Ni le mot *pain*, ni le mot *tartine*"[2].

On the basis of this evidence, the Jury that reviewed this case[3] discounted an emotional plea from Pascale's father stating that *he*, the father, was a Francophone, that he had done his studies in French, served in the army in French, and that it was his choice that his child have a French-language education. For the Jury ruled Pascale to be a legal Fleming who would have to continue Dutch-language schools even in Brussels. It is perhaps a measure of the times that Pascale's father did not accept this ruling without a fight — and that he did *not* succeed in reversing the ruling. Pascale would have to attend a Netherlandish school.

Luc Martou: The Establishment of a Francophone Identity[4]

Fifteen-year-old Luc Martou, who was born in Brussels of *bruxellois* parents, succeeded in establishing his Francophone identity even though he had attended a Netherlandish state preparatory school in Ninove in Flemish territory before his family, which had emigrated to Flanders from Brussels when Luc was an infant, returned to the capital city; but he did not succeed without a fight. The conflict began when Luc enrolled at the *Collège de Sacré Coeur* in the Ganshoren commune of Brussels in 1969, at which time his father filled out a language declaration stating Luc's mother tongue to be French[5]. Both language inspectors rejected this contention: the Netherlandish inspector, on the spot; the French-language inspector, after contacting Luc's previous school to ascertain whether teachers there considered his mother tongue to be French. Both thereafter agreed that Luc was not entitled to continue his education in the Francophone school of his choice.

Perhaps the fact that *both* of Luc's parents were born in Brussels swayed the Jury. A *Bruxellois* who was *not* a Francophone would be an anomaly; it *was* likely that French was a language of the home. Perhaps the Jury was also swayed by the fact that Luc's mother, who was divorced, had selected the Dutch-language school in which Luc was first enrolled because of its proximity to her job rather than because she wished to express linguistic preference. Of even greater importance was the fact that Luc was proficient in French and as a bilingual entitled to enroll in the language regime of his parents' choice — although his prior education in Dutch-language schools *did* blur the legal situation. In Luc's case, at any rate, the Jury *did* allow education in a French-language school in Brussels.

The Francophone Education of a Bilingual Flemish Bruxellois Child

Virtually all of the children caught in the legal web of the language laws were bilingual. Many came from homes in which both French and Dutch were spoken, often French by the parents, Dutch by the grand-parents: sometimes Dutch by one parent, French by the other. Where the child was an accomplished bilingual without noticeable dominance in one language or the other, there was unlikely to be difficulty in enrolling him or her in the language regime of the parents' choice. But where there were irregularities such as an attempt to change a language declaration and a language regime, the child would frequently come to the attention of the language inspectorate. Once enrolled in a Francophone school such a child would often be allowed to stay, but not until Commission or Jury had reviewed the case.

Karin Geerinck: The Bilingual Who Couldn't Speak French[6]

Karin Geerlinck was only three when her parents enrolled her in a *Jardin d'Enfants* in Brussels, stating on the language declaration that French was the mother tongue and usual language of this little girl who was born in Flanders to Flemish parents, an assertion which was tested by the language inspectorate. The French language inspector reported that Karin was so shy that she would not speak either French or Netherlandish. He had, however, ascertained that, since both parents worked, she spent most of the day with grandparents who spoke only Flemish. Under these circumstances the development of French would be delayed, but French was, nevertheless, the language of the home: "Une telle situation familiale est loin d'être exceptionnelle"[7]. He would accept the declaration. The Netherlandish inspector also noted Karin's complete silence in what was reputed to be her mother tongue: "Geen enkel Frans woord werd gedurende onze aanwezigheid geuit"[8]; but a few dialect words in Dutch led him to suspect that this was a Netherlandish child. He, therefore, rejected the assertion that French was Karin's mother tongue. So did the Commission, which noted the difficulty of weighing evidence in the case of a child who refused to speak, but concluded, on the basis of the evidence assembled, that the mother tongue and usual language of this child was Netherlandish. Karin could not attend a French-language school.

Patrick Sibille: An Ambivalence Toward Dominance[9]

The pattern of Patrick Sibille's early education reflected the ambivalence of his mother, who was the head of the household, about linguistic identity. Patrick was born in Brussels in 1959 to a father who was a *Bruxellois,* a native of the commune of Anderlecht, and a mother who was born in Berchem-Ste-Agathe when that commune was still part of Flemish territory. He came to the attention of the language inspectorate in 1970 when his mother tried to enroll him in *Ecole Communale no 7* in Molenbeek because he had started his education in a Netherlandish nursery school in 1963 with a language declaration which stated that Dutch was his mother tongue. Notwithstanding these irregularities, the French-language inspector was willing to accept the enrollment of this bilingual child in the French-language regime, in part because he had also attended a French-language school in Wallonia. The Netherlandish inspector, on the other hand, while admitting that the child was fluent in French, refused to accept the declaration. The child's original mother tongue had been Flemish; there was no good reason for this to change.

The Commission which reviewed the case[10] was, however, more flexible. Not only did it accept the argument that Patrick's mother, now the only parent in the household, had become a Francophone in the course of her adult life, it also concluded that it would be in the best interest for the child to remain in Francophone schools. In other words, in this particular case the Commission *did* allow the mother of a bilingual child to decide which would be the language of dominance and to arrange an education that would reflect this choice.

Dirk de Leeuw: Bilingual Fleming With a Dominance of French[11]

Dirk de Leeuw, both of whose parents were born in Flanders, began his formal education in 1964 when he was three years old in a Flemish nursery school on a language declaration signed by his mother which stated that Flemish was his mother tongue. Three years later Dirk was enrolled in a Francophone elementary school on a new language declaration, which stated that Flemish was his mother tongue, French his usual language, a procedural irregularity which brought him to the immediate attention of the language inspectorate. The language inspectors, however, soon discovered that this was not a simple attempt to change language regimes. There was a plausible explanation for the earlier choice of the Netherlandish school: French nursery schools were overcrowded with the children of foreigners, the children of Italian, Spanish, and Greek workers now living in Brussels. Dirk's parents had decided that Dirk would receive more personal attention in the smaller classes of the Netherlandish schools, a pragmatic, not a linguistic decision. Dirk, furthermore, was completely bilingual. According to the report of the French language inspector:

> A la question s'il parle néerlandais à la maison, il répond par l'affirmative. A la question précise s'il parle uniquement le néerlandais, il répond qu'il parle aussi le français. Nous nous trouvons donc devant un cas de bilinguisme au foyer[12].

The Dutch language inspector, on the other hand, noted: "Dirk spreekt vlot Nederlands — voerde een uiterst gemakkelijk gesprek in het Nederlands"[13]. The Dutch language inspector was less ready to consign this bilingual child to a Francophone regime.

The Commission which reviewed this case had to weigh other factors. According to a letter from the father, this was a fully bilingual family with a dominance of French. The children spoke French with one another. The personnel in the family store spoke only French with each other and with their clientele. True, sometimes the mother spoke Flemish with the children, a practice the father encouraged because he wanted them to know Flemish. But he could honestly say that, although Flemish was their mother tongue, French was their usual language. Indeed, most of the family spoke only French. Dirk had aunts and uncles in Wallonia and in the north of France, and an older brother enrolled in the Francophone regime of the schools of Brussels. This was a fully bilingual child who came from a fully bilingual home where French dominated.

The Commission, therefore, faced the necessity of ruling on the school placement of a child who, except for technical irregularities — more than one language declaration, attempt to shift from one language regime to the other — would have met its own criteria for enrollment in a Francophone school. The Commission had one more piece of evidence: a letter from the head of the school in which Dirk had enrolled testifying to his capacity to do well in his studies in the French regime. Small wonder it accepted the family's appeal to allow Dirk to remain in a French-language school. In this case it was dealing with a family in the midst of a language shift which could marshal impressive evidence proving that the shift was already well underway, that it could not be easily reversed, and that an attempt to do so would be detrimental to the child.

The Francophone Education of Young Adult Flemings

The Language Law of 1963 did not include universities, hence the strife at Louvain. In fact, one of the anomalies of the new language law was the possibility that a student who had done *all* of his or her earlier studies in Netherlandish could freely select to complete higher education in a French-language Belgian university. The Language Law of 1963, however, *did* include a range of post secondary school institutions never before subject to linguistic regulation: technical schools, music and art schools, adult evening schools, business schools. In the process it excluded a number of Flemings from enrollment in a French-language regime for the completion of an education that began in Netherlandish schools; young adult Flemings motivated by a pragmatic assessment of the career advancement to be derived from improvement of their knowledge of French, as well as young Flemings who could locate no other schools offering the program they wanted. Many had planned their academic career with this end in view and were shocked to discover that they could not carry out these plans. So was a large portion of the population of Brussels to whom the Francophone press reported some of the problems arising in the field of post-secondary education: "Une situation ridicule où les lois linguistiques considèrent comme 'enfants', des étudiants mariés et père de famille", proclaimed the headline of a story in *La Dernière Heure* which pondered an extraordinary situation: "Mais l'inspection linguistique veillera à constater si la langue maternelle ou usuelle du papa qui est 'l'enfant' est bien celle du papa qui est grand-papa"[14].

Marie-Louise Mertens: The Language of the English Classroom[15]

Marie-Louise Mertens was not the only adult to find herself in conflict with the language inspectorate. Nevertheless, the fact that the conflict existed for her at all was a measure of the new era. According to the Director of the *Cours Communales de Langues et de Secrétariat* in Woluwé-St.-Pièrre, Marie-Louise Mertens, who was thirty-one when she came to the attention of the language inspectorate, could have followed an English language course in this French-language evening school "avec fruit". She was, however, a Fleming who had completed all of her education in the Netherlandish regime of the schools of Brussels and the Netherlandish inspector was *not* willing to accept a declaration stating that French was her usual language: "De bedoeling van de taal wetgeving van 1963 is echter, Vlaamse mensen in Vlaamse scholen onder te brengen"[16]. In this case the Commission concurred. Miss Mertens would have to learn English in an evening school in the Dutch-language regime.

Peter Vermeire: Strict Constructionism[17]

Peter Vermeire took his case to the *Conseil d'Etat*, the highest court he could take it to, and lost – a measure perhaps of his, and his family's, determination but not of their understanding of the reality of the new language laws. Peter was born in Brussels of Flemish parents who had previously lived in Zwevegem in Flemish territory. He completed secondary school at the *Sint Joris Instituut* in the Netherlandish regime, and came to the attention of the inspectorate at the age of twenty when he attempted to enroll at the *Institut Supérieur de Commerce*, presenting on this occasion a new language declaration signed by his father, which stated that the mother tongue and usual language of the family was French and that Peter, having lived in Brussels throughout his entire life, was perfectly bilingual. Both inspectors lost no time in rejecting this declaration, noting that the family had freely chosen a Netherlandish regime earlier.

The Vermeire family, however, was not ready to accept this ruling without a fight, not when their son was a perfect bilingual and in the case of bilingualism the *père de famille* has the *right* to choose. When the Jury concurred with the ruling of the inspectorate, they took the case to the *Conseil d'Etat*, where their lawyer argued that a language declaration *could* be changed to conform with new realities, that the new reality in this case was Peter's bilingualism. Nevertheless, Peter would not attend a Francophone school: "Le régime déterminé par la première déclaration devrait être maintenu en vertu de la loi"[18].

Luc Ostyn: Education for a Career Outside of Belgium[19]

Not all young adults were denied opportunity to pursue post-secondary education in the regime of their choice. Luc Ostyn, for example, who was over twenty-one when he enrolled at the *Institut des Hautes Etudes Commerciales in Brussels*, filling out his own language declaration on which he stated that French was his mother tongue, Flemish his usual language and the language of the school he had previously attended in Ostend, succeeded. His declaration, however, was rejected by *both* language inspectors because they refused to believe that his mother tongue was French. Possibly the Jury who heard this case was willing to accept the explanation offered in a letter by Luc's father, which asserted that Luc's mother was a Francophone and that Luc's mother tongue was, therefore, French. Possibly there were no Netherlandish business schools offering the program Luc needed for the career outside of Belgium for which he was preparing. Possibly the Jury was swayed by a technicality: this was Luc's first enrollment in a Brussels school, therefore, his first language declaration; and this was, moreover, the language declaration of a fully bilingual young adult. At any rate, in this case the Jury *did* allow this young Fleming to enroll in a French-language commercial school.

Jeanne-Marie Kets: The Higher Education of a Professional Translator[20]

Twenty-three-year-old Jeanne-Marie Kets also succeeded in enrolling in a Francophone post-secondary school in Brussels, despite the fact that she was a Fleming reared in Lokeren, her birthplace and the birthplace of her parents. The language declaration that she filled out in order to enroll at the *Institut Supérieur de Commerce St. Louis* in Brussels, however, stated that French was her mother tongue and usual language, a declaration that brought an immediate investigation by the language inspectorate. The inspectors soon discovered, however, that her French was close to perfect. It should be. She had received a license as a translator from the Antwerp *Hoger Instituut voor Vertalers en Tolken*. The Director of the *Institut St. Louis*, moreover, was willing to go on record to state that Mlle Kets spoke in a way that could only reflect use of French as a mother tongue and usual language. The Dutch inspector disagreed, pointing out that her mother tongue had to be Netherlandish because she came from Flemish territory and had been educated there in Netherlandish schools. He was overruled, however, by the Commission, which on the basis of this evidence and the fact that this was Mlle Kets' first enrollment in the schools of Brussels, allowed her to select French as the language of her higher education. Perhaps a professional translator had a right to expect recognition of a claim to bilinguality.

The Education of Non-Belgian Children

The new laws applied to non-Belgians as well as to Belgian nationals, to the children of Greek, Italian, and Spanish workers, as well as to the children of Dutch or American diplomats or businessmen. It applied, in short, to all children enrolled in Belgian schools. Many members of the large international community in Brussels enrolled their children in international schools not covered by Belgian law. Others elected to use Belgian schools, most often French-language schools. They, too, especially if the inspectorate encountered a legal technicality such as an attempt to change language regimes, could find themselves in conflict with the language laws. And if they happened to be Netherlanders, a group who shared a mother tongue with Belgium's largest language community, they might face double jeopardy.

Maria Kouvas: A Greco-Flemish Identity[21]

Maria Kouvas, who was born in Greece in 1960, acquired a Flemish identity because she started school in the Netherlandish regime, first in Limbourg where her father worked, later in Brussels. The problems began when her father enrolled her in the French-language *Ecole primaire subventionée* in Anderlecht in Brussels in 1967, an act which brought a warning from the language inspectorate and an order to enroll Maria in a Flemish school. The language inspectors admitted that it was impossible in this case to determine whether Netherlandish was a dominant language: "Manifestement la langue du foyer est le grec"[22]. But they would not allow a flaunting of Belgian language laws. Stated the Netherlandish inspector: "Toch moet een Griek vernemen dater Belgisch taalwetten bestaan, DIE HIJ MOET EERBIEDIGEN! "[23] Since both the Jury and the *Conseil d'Etat*, to which the Kouras family appealed, concurred, the request of this Greek working-class family to enroll their daughter in a French-language school was denied.

Marlys van de Weerdt: The Imperfect Bilingual From Delft[24]

The van de Weerdts had three factors against them in their fight to control their daughter's education: their residence, Tervuren in Flemish territory; their nationality and the presumed mother tongue for a family of this nationality — Dutch; their daughter's imperfect command of French. Nevertheless, they enrolled five-year-old Marlys, who was born in Delft in 1963, at the French-language *Ecole gardienne libre subventionnée* in Woluwé-St.-Pierre in September 1968, declaring her mother tongue to be French. This language declaration was summarily rejected by both language inspectors — although not for the reasons a student of the byways of the Belgian language crisis might have expected. It was rejected, first of all, because it was not dated; secondly, because it was signed by Marlys' *mother*, "donc sans valeur si la mère n'est pas le chef de famille"[25]. The Director of the school, who then contacted Marlys' *father*, indicated that she regretted the rigor of the application of Belgian language laws to foreigners, but that the family had only two choices: to withdraw the child from school or to appeal to the Jury that adjudicated such cases. They chose to appeal.

A report of the French-language inspector, who visited Marlys at school before the Jury heard the case, did not help matters. He reported her command of French to be far from grammatical, although there is no doubt that high standards of grammar were expected of this five-year old:

> En français, elle (l'enfant) parvient à nommer péniblement certaines choses. Parmi celles-ci, elle m'a désigné notamment une chat et une vélo. En dépit d'un séjour prolongé en classe d'expression française, elle en est toujours au stade du mot et se révèle incapable de former une petite phrase[26].

Given this report, plus the observation of the Netherlandish inspector that Netherlandish was the child's dominant language, it is not surprising that the Jury and the *Conseil d'Etat*, to which the family appealed after the Jury rejected their plea, would not allow her to attend a French-language Belgian school: "Ces règles s'imposent aux chefs d'écoles sans distinction quant à la nationalité de l'élève ou de ses parents"[27].

Catherine Kerstiens: A Member of the International Set[28]

The Kerstiens family, also Dutch, were more successful in their battle with the Belgian language laws, but they paid a high price in time, energy, and emotion. It is possible that no problem would have arisen had not Mrs Kerstiens answered, "Dutch", when asked the mother tongue or usual language upon enrolling four-year-old Catherine in a French-language school close to home. This truthful response started a long and complex series of events. Shortly thereafter, Thomas Kerstiens, father of the child, sent an "attestation" stating that the child was of Dutch nationality, but perfectly bilingual, and that he desired her to be in a French-language school. In September 1968, he sent a new declaration signifying that the usual language of the family was French, but by then the language inspectorate had begun its investigation.

There was from the start no question about Catherine's linguistic prowess. The French language inspector noted that she spoke both languages with assurance. He also pointed out that Catherine's two brothers were enrolled at the same French-language school where Catherine was attempting to enroll and that *their* declarations, which stated French to be the usual language, were not open to question. The Dutch inspector, on the other hand, conceded Catherine's proficiency as a bilingual but noted that she displayed special warmth and spontaneity in her use of the Dutch language, that she spoke, furthermore, with a "Hollands" accent, thus indicating that she had learned this mother tongue in her own family circle, not in Belgium. Since Dutch was the dominant language of this child, he would insist that the initial declaration be accepted.

The Jury upheld this position; however, the *Conseil d'Etat* to whom the family then appealed reversed the Jury's decision. Perhaps it was swayed by the fact that Thomas Kerstiens had lived with his family in a number of French-speaking countries in the course of his service in an international organization. Perhaps it agreed that having two children in French-language schools, and one in the Netherlandish regime was unthinkable. Perhaps the question of Catherine's health was the deciding factor. In this case, at any rate, the bilingual child of an international Dutch family was allowed to continue her education in a French-language school.

Erik Jan van Rossum: The Child Who Had Not Learned His Mother Tongue[29]

Erik Jan van Rossum had good reason to learn French: his father was of French nationality. But three-year-old Erik, who had spent his entire life in The Hague before moving to Belgium, had no had much exposure to the language of his father. Nevertheless, Erik's language declaration, which was filled out upon his enrollment in a Brussels French-language school, indicated that his mother tongue or usual language was French — a statement which both language inspectors rejected. Noted the French language inspector:

> La loi du 30/7/1963 ne permet pas de tenir compte du désir d'un chef de famille, si légitime qu'il puisse apparaître. Elle se fonde sur la langue maternelle ou usuelle de l'enfant, indépendamment de la ou des langues parlées par le chef de famille. Actuellement, la langue maternelle ou usuelle de cet enfant est le néerlandais[30].

The Jury, however, found itself confronted with an ambiguous task. Between the time the case was appealed in March 1970 and the time the Jury was ready to rule on it in October seven months later, Erik had learned French, a fact they could not ignore when they decided to allow him to continue in the French-language regime. Perhaps the lesson for others caught in the linguistic maze was to delay legal action until the child had time to learn the target language.

The Pursuit of Bilingualism

One of the themes running through some — but certainly not all — of these language cases is the difficulty faced by the bi- and multilingual family for whom the benefits to be derived from exposure to both language regimes far outweighed the benefits of linguistic ethnicity. Until 1971 enrollment first in one regime, then in the other, was illegal within Brussels — and after 1971 illegal for immigrants from Flanders. Even before 1971, however, families persisted in pursuing this mode of bilingual education in spite of the language laws. They could, and did, find themselves in conflict with the language inspectorate. They could, and frequently did, find the Jury or Commission ready to be reasonably tolerant of what they were setting out to do.

Michel de Schaepdrijver: The Advantages of Bilingualism[31]

Michel de Schaepdrijver's father stated the case for bilingualism in a note he attached to the language declaration that accompanied his son's first attempt to enroll in a French-language post-secondary school in Brussels. Since he, the father, was bilingual, he had decided that his son should complete higher education in French. In a letter to the inspectorate which rejected the contention that French could be the mother tongue or usual language of a young Fleming from Erembodegen whose previous schooling had been in Netherlandish, the father elaborated on his linguistic philosophy: "Chaque jour je constate dans les affaires qu'il est indispensable d'être parfaitement bilingue en Belgique surtout quand on veut occuper un poste de direction"[32]. He, the father, had studied in French at Tournai. The family considered French to be the language of the home. They had sent Michel to a Netherlandish school (given the linguistic structure of Flanders, they perhaps had little choice), but they did so believing that he would pursue his higher studies in French. This argument was, nevertheless, rejected by the language inspectors, who noted that a change of school regime in order to improve a student's bilingualism was not sufficient cause to flaunt the language laws.

Perhaps the Jury felt that a twenty year old "child" should have the right to choose his own linguistic regime. Perhaps they were swayed by the legal argument that Michel would be denied enrollment in a French-language school solely because his father, who worked in Brussels, preferred to live outside the city in the country in Flemish territory; or perhaps by the fact that this was his first enrollment in the schools of Brussels — and his first language declaration. The reasons that were enumerated do not, however, include sympathy with the family's desire to enroll Michel in a French-language school.

Irène Parmentier: The Choice of a Pluralist Pattern[33]

Irène Parmentier's father wanted his children to become perfect bilinguals, and he tried to implement this ideal by enrolling Irène, who was born in Brussels, in the Netherlandish regime for elementary school and in the French-language *Lycée Royal de Bruxelles II* for secondary school. This was in many ways a remarkable family. The father came from the German region in the east of the Province of Liège, where the schools used German as an initial medium of instruction but introduced the students progressively to French. The mother had been educated in French, but had studied Netherlandish "avec beaucoup de persévérance". They were a family, in other words, committed to linguistic pluralism.

The decision, however, to provide Irène with a pluralist pattern of education brought them into conflict with the language inspectorate. For one thing, there were two language declarations: one declaring Flemish to be the mother tongue or usual language; the other declaring French to be. For another thing, they had removed Irène from the Netherlandish school after five years, then sent her to a French-language school in Wallonia before attempting to enroll her at the *Lycée Royal* in Brussels, an action which, in the view of the French language inspector, could be "peut-être considéré comme un moyen de tourner la loi, afin de pouvoir par la suite continuer des études francophones à Bruxelles"[34].

The father explained his intent in an eloquent letter to the Jury, which began with an explication of his linguistic value structure: "Habitant à l'époque à Bruxelles, mon idée était de faire de mes enfants de parfaits bilingues"[35]. He had been advised in 1961 when he enrolled Irène in the Netherlandish regime that he would have no difficulty enrolling her in the French-language regime for her subsequent studies. When changes in the language law led him to realize that problems might arise, he had taken her out of the Netherlandish school one year earlier than he had planned, an action he regrets because she would have consolidated her knowledge of Dutch in one more year. He had then placed her in a French-language school in Wallonia in preparation for enrollment in the French-language regime in Brussels, but he had not meant to evade the law:

> Je regrette vivement qu'il n'existe pas de loi claire et nette, permettant librement a tous les pères de famille de bonne volonté, qui comme moi essayant de favoriser le bilinguisme, d'appliquer le même système que celui que j'ai utilisé tout en étant persuadé d'agir strictement suivant la loi, car ou peut-on mieux apprendre le flamand que dans une ecole flamande?[36]

Whether the Jury was swayed by these arguments is not a matter of record, but it did allow Irene to continue her French-language education.

Education for Flemish Ethnicity

That Flemings who opted for a mother tongue education should also run afoul of the Belgian language laws comes as something of a surprise. Some did — those who lived in Wallonia or those who were ambivalent at one point in their life about their ethnicity and then found legal barriers to a change of direction, or those whose children had an imperfect knowledge of Dutch. That the Belgian language laws might actually hinder the desire of certain Flemings to return to their ethnic roots represents a special triumph of legalism, but it was an unusual Commission or Jury that did not rule in favor of Flemish ethnicity.

Serge Willems: The Fleming Who Knew Only French[37]

Serge Willems' family must have felt ambivalence over the linguistic identity of their child. Serge had two language declarations: the first stating that French was his mother tongue or usual language, but with a note attached saying that Serge was bilingual and should go to Netherlandish schools; the second stating that his mother tongue or usual language was Netherlandish. The difficulty was that five-year-old Serge had not yet learned Dutch, a point corroborated by the language inspectorate, who visited the *Nederlandstalige lagere school* in Schaerbeek where he was enrolled. There was complete agreement between the French and Netherlandish inspectors. Serge knew French but not Dutch and was, therefore, not bilingual at all. Perhaps the Jury was more sensitive to the function of the language laws. Perhaps Serge learned a bit more Dutch while the case was reviewed. At any rate, in spite of the desire of the inspectorate to obey the letter of the law, Serge was allowed to remain in the Netherlandish regime.

Philippe Degraeve: The Attempt to Regain a Mother Tongue[38]

Philippe Degraeve, who was born in 1964, began life as a Francophone. He had a Walloon father, who died before Philippe started school, and a Flemish mother, who listed French as his mother tongue on a language declaration dated 1968 when she enrolled him in a French-language day care center. In 1969, however, the mother, who had since married a Fleming, communicated a change of linguistic orientation to the language inspectorate: "Ik, zijn moeder, ben volledig Vlaams sprekend, en sta heel alleen voor de opvoeding van het kind in"[39]. She enrolled Philippe at the Netherlandish *Sint-Guido School* in Anderlecht a few months later, submitting at this time another language declaration which listed Flemish as the mother tongue or usual language — an action which brought a precipitant response from the language inspectors, neither of who was willing to accept a new declaration stating Dutch to be his mother tongue. The Jury, however, had no difficulty responding to this Flemish mother's eloquent plea: "Alhoewel ik het prachtig vind Jean-Jacques Rousseau's taal machtig te zijn, wens ik dat mijn kind zijn moedertaal spreekt"[40]. Philippe would attend a Netherlandish school.

The Centrifugal-Centripetal Matrix

That Brussels citizens who made a conscientious decision to educate their children for balanced bilingualism, that foreigners whose mother tongue was neither of Belgium's national languages, that Netherlanders who wished their children to learn French, that young Flemish adults who wanted to perfect knowledge of the second national language in technical or commercial schools should find themselves in conflict with the linguistic inspectorate exemplifies the legal dilemma of those in the center of the *Brusselse Cocktail bruxellois*. But that Flemings who made a belated decision to educate their children for linguistic ethnicity after first enrolling them in the French-language regime found themselves in as much legal jeopardy as Flemings who chose to see their children remain in French-language schools illustrates a triumph of legalism over legal *raison d'être* in the Alice-in-Wonderland world of Belgian politicolinguistics. The new language laws, rigorously enforced, would have outlawed *all* pluralist linguistic patterns of education in Brussels, *all* bilingualism in education — even though such proscription was a logical impossibility, as it was with bilingual children.

This explosive centrifugal-centripetal matrix had within it another paradox: the degree to which the polar extremes of the linguistic spectrum came to resemble each other. Both those Flemings who wished to use French-language schools as an agency for the assimilation of their children into a Francophone world and those who wanted their children rigorously enclosed within schools of their own mother tongue agreed on the function of educational institutions. Schools prepared children for membership in discrete social, political, and cultural linguistic identity groups. Flemish children whose language of instruction throughout school was French were educated for language shift and for membership in a new linguistic world. Those for whom the language of instruction was also the mother tongue were more likely to remain within the linguistic world into which they were born. But at either end of the spectrum, schools educated for the dominance of the language of instruction and for a life centered in linguistic communities which were mutually exclusive, whereas in the larger Brussels community — for some *Bruxellois*, at any rate — French and Dutch were in daily contact and bilingualism an essential life tool. Small wonder the role of the linguistic inspectorate between 1966 and 1971 was in itself *raison d'être* for conflict.

Notes

[1] Dossier 29/69, Jury.

[2] (Neither the word for a *loaf* of bread, nor the word for a *slice* of bread.)

[3] In cases where both the French and the Netherlandish inspectors refused to accept the language declaration, the case went directly to the Jury.

[4] Dossier 28/69, Jury.

[5] Presumably there was no earlier language declaration in this case because the child started school in a unilingual territory.

[6] Dossier 34/70, Commission.

[7] (Such a situation is far from exceptional.)

[8] (Not any French word came forth in our presence.)

[9] Dossier 21/70, Commission.

[10] The Commission reviewed this case because the inspectors disagreed with one another. If the parents had wished to appeal, the next stage would be the Jury.

[11] Dossier 7/68, Commission.

[12] (To the question about whether he speaks Netherlandish at home, he answered with an affirmation. To the precise question, does he speak only Netherlandish, he answers that he speaks French also. We find ourselves before a case of bilingualism in the home.)

[13] (Dirk speaks fluent Netherlandish — carries on an extremely comfortable conversation in Netherlandish.)

[14] *La Dernière Heure*, 25-26-27 mai 1969. (A ridiculous situation in which the language laws consider students who are married and fathers as children ... But the language inspectorate will take care to verify if the mother tongue or usual language of the papa who is a 'child' is indeed that of the papa who is grandpapa.)

[15] Dossier 23/70, Commission.

[16] (The intention of the Language Law of 1963 is, however, to bring Flemish people into Flemish schools.)

[17] Dossier 47/69, Conseil d'Etat A. 17.121/VI-4452, no 14.239.

[18] (The regime determined by the first declaration ought to be maintained by virtue of the law.)

[19] Dossier 53/69, Jury.

[20] Dossier 27/70, Commission.

[21] Dossier 3/67, Conseil d'Etat A. 15.676/VI 3969, no 13.680.

[22] (Clearly the language of the home is Greek.)

[23] (Nevertheless, a Greek must understand there exist Belgian language laws, WHICH HE MUST RESPECT.)

[24] Dossier 13/68, Conseil d'Etat A. 16.217/VI 4155, no 13.920.

[25] (... thus without value if the mother is not the head of the family.)

[26] (She [the child] succeeds in naming certain things in French with difficulty. Among these, she especially designated to me a cat and a bicycle [both in wrong gender]. In spite of a prolonged exposure to a French-language class, she is still at the word stage and seems incapable of generating small sentences.)

[27] (The rules are imposed on the heads of schools without distinction as to the nationality of the study or parents.)

[28] Dossier 20/69, Conseil d'Etat A. 16.348/VI 4196, no 13.679.

[29] Dossier 72/70, Jury.

[30] (The Law of July 30, 1963 does not permit taking account of the desire of the head of a family, however legitimate it may appear. It is based on the mother tongue or usual language of the child, independent of the language or languages spoken by the head of the family. Actually, the mother tongue or usual language of this child is Netherlandish.)

[31] Dossier 33/69, Jury.

[32] (I find every day in business that it is indispensable to be perfectly bilingual in Belgium, above all when one wishes to hold a managerial job.)

[33] Dossier 31/69, Jury.

[34] (... perhaps considered as a way of turning the law in order to be able to continue Francophone studies in Brussels.)

[35] (Living during this era in Brussels, my idea was to make my children perfect bilinguals.)

[36] (I strongly regret that there does not exist a clear and unambiguous law freely permitting all fathers of good will, who like me are trying to favor bilingualism, to apply the same system that I have utilized, while being persuaded to act strictly within the law. For where can one better learn Flemish than in a Flemish school?)

[37] Dossier 48/69, Jury.

[38] Dossier 49/69, Jury.

[39] (I, his mother, am completely Flemish speaking, and stand completely alone in the rearing of the child.)

[40] (Although I find it splendid that the language of Jean Jacques Rousseau is important, I wish my child to speak his mother tongue.)

CHAPTER IX

SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY TENSIONS AFTER 1971

The last months of 1971 might be a logical terminus for this study, the point when Flemish activists conceded that they could not achieve language maintenance in the Brussels bilingual zone through coercion of parents. For with passage of the *Loi du 26 juillet 1971* (see Appendix K), Flemings living in Brussels once again had legal right to enroll in Francophone schools (and Francophones in Netherlandish schools if they so desired). And with restoration of this right, linguistic segregation ceased to be a universal law of the land for Belgium.

Language planners had never succeeded in their attempt to separate Flemings from Francophones in the schools of Brussels. How could such segmentation take place in a city with a large bilingual population without primary allegiance to either language community? Nor had they succeeded in eradicating "bilingualism in education" — another impossibility in a milieu where bilingual children, whether Flemings enrolled in French-language schools or the children of foreign workers, carried their bilingualism to school with them. Even during years when the linguistic inspectorate made active efforts to separate students according to legal linguistic identity, the centripetal traditions of the past were still alive; however, between 1932 and 1971 perpetuation of these traditions, although an everyday occurrence, was illegal in Brussels. After July 1971, parents were free to choose a language of education once again, and restoration of this right brings one era in the annals of the Belgian language controversy to a close.

Nevertheless, it is a mistake to view 1971 as a terminus. Residents of Brussels now had complete freedom of choice, but the 1500 students who commuted to Francophone schools in the capital city from Flemish territory each year still had to establish linguistic identity. The language inspectors continued to monitor *their* enrollment, as well as registration in the French-language schools of the six *communes à facilités*. The Commission and Jury continued to hear cases arising from these students — although such cases were not the source of tension they had once been. In fact, the Jury quietly ceased operations when its funding expired in 1979[1]. There was less friction over schools; but the separate but equal Dutch- and French-language regimes remained intact, and the distance between them widened as they competed for students and resources during the 1970's. Linguistic integration was legal once again, but the structure of the schools reflected a centrifugal momentum which was a legacy of the Age of Separatism.

This centrifugal momentum was also imbedded in a new political order articulated in the third revision of the Belgian Constitution, which was ratified in December 1971; for in the new multilingual, decentralized Belgium envisioned in this Constitution, Brussels was left with a fragmented, ambiguous identity — and purposely so, the price exacted for restoration of parental freedom. Brussels did attain regional status and its own Regional Council equal in stature to Regional Councils for Flanders, Wallonia, and the German-language region. But in this new political order, it was the Cultural Councils which were to assume primary responsibility for social, artistic, and educational institutions; and Brussels was *not* accorded a Cultural Council of its own, whereas the Dutch-language, French-language, and German-language communities were[2]. To deny Brussels a Cultural Council was to deny this bilingual zone the right to any but linguistically segmented institutions and to deny its bilingual citizens the right to a bilingual identity. *Liberté du père de famille* was barely defused as an issue before tensions arising from the hegemony of the language communities, symbolized by these Cultural Councils, became a school concern. We cannot begin to assess lessons learned in the Belgian Babel until we have examined these tensions.

Schools and Communities

Community is an emotive and ambiguous concept in modern Belgium, a word which connotes, at one and the same time, rival linguistic groups, whose members share a world view defined by language preference or mother tongue, *and* rival geographical regions, each the heartland of its own linguistic community. That the revised Constitution provides all Belgians, including citizens of the bilingual capital, with membership in one or the other of three semi-autonomous communities — one Franch, one Dutch, one German, each administered by its own Cultural Council — implies that language determines cultural identity (Article 3C)[3]. But that this Constitution also recognizes four geographical regions as language zones — Flanders — Dutch, Wallonia — French, the German-language area in the east of Liège Province, plus the Brussels bilingual zone — implies that, except in Brussels, language is a function of geography (Article 3B).

It is important to understand this distinction because, although the two Ministries of Education still supervise state and communal schools in their respective linguistic regions as well as in Brussels[4], a fundamental difference exists between schools and communities in Brussels and schools and communities in the unilingual territories. In Brussels, membership in a cultural community is largely a matter of self-definition, as symbolized by the language of the identity card or by choice of a language regime in the schools, virtually a free choice since restoration of *liberté du père de famille* — provided that parents can prove their residence within the city[5]. In the unilingual territories, on the other hand, assimilation of linguistic minorities continues to be a matter of policy and — except in villages on the language line — there exists no legal alternative to education in the regional language except for a child to commute to a school in another linguistic region, a solution not always logistically feasible.

Small wonder that Francophones living in Flemish villages on the Brussels perimeter where schools are supervised by the Dutch-language Ministry of Education, even those living in communes with limited "facilities" for Francophones, eye the freedom enjoyed by members of the French-language Cultural Community in Brussels with envy. Small wonder these Francophones are themselves a source of tension within the capital. Boundaries between linguistic territories are determined by law, changeable only through act of Parliament. An individual's perception of his or her linguistic identity, on the other hand, is not easily subject to spatial or legal containment.

Another difference exists between schools and communities in Brussels and schools and communities in the rest of Belgium. In modern Brussels there are no French-Dutch "bilingual" schools such as once existed in the past. Indeed, use of any language except the language of the school as a medium of instruction is still prohibited by law; and the second national language is relegated to the foreign language classroom for a limited number of hours a week, as if in recognition that its acquisition is still a necessary evil. There is, however, a paradox here. In Brussels study of French in Netherlandish schools or of Dutch in French-language schools may now begin as early as the first year[6], whereas in Flanders or Wallonia second language study does not begin until the fifth year and English or another modern language may be substituted for French or Dutch. Only in Brussels are the centripetal patterns of the past given legal mandate.

There was a point shortly after restoration of *liberté du père de famille* in 1971 when officials in both Ministries of Education wondered whether a new educational pattern might emerge from attempts on the part of members of both language communities to educate their children for linguistic pluralism by sending them one year to a school in one language regime, the next year to a school in the other — a Brussels equivalent of immersion classes such as are found in Ottawa or Montreal. Such a pattern, however, has not become firmly established — although some Flemings continue to send their children to a French-language secondary school after completion of Dutch-language elementary school, a familiar traditional pattern approved by neither the French nor the Dutch Ministry[7]. It is not possible, however, to speak of bilingualism in Brussels schools except in terms of these anomalies. The primary function of the separate but equal regimes is still to educate for membership in *either* a French or a Netherlandish community — not to educate for membership in both.

Nevertheless, members of both communities have — in one way or another — signaled their recognition of the *de jure* existence of linguistic parity. That the *Taal Aktie Komitie* called for curtailment of the study of French in Dutch-language schools in Brussels after the fifth year in order to allow more time for study of the mother tongue[8] is the stance of a radical group still defensive about language maintenance. But that the Francophone community, the group which has traditionally resisted study of a second language and has continued to do so, should begin to recognize the utility of Dutch, that a leading daily such as *Le Soir* should devote a front page editorial to a discussion of the necessity for "passive bilingualism", i.e., the ability to understand, if not to speak or write, the second language is a measure of the times[9]. In 1979 *Le Soir* even published an editorial calling for improvement in the quality of Dutch language classes in French-language schools because Francophone children must compete with bilingual Flemings for government jobs[10]. The traditional linguistic hierarchy is under attack from both sides, especially within the schools of Brussels.

A third difference exists between schools and communities in Brussels and schools and communities in the rest of Belgium. Now that no established contact takes place between the two Ministries of Education[11], divergent evolution of values and priorities in the schools of Flanders and Wallonia is taken for granted. In unilingual Flanders and Wallonia, however, the values of the school are assumed to reflect the values of the larger community. In bilingual Brussels no such assumption is possible. In Brussels there is exaggerated necessity to articulate differences.

Degrees granted by each school regime must still be equivalent, but even the idea of equivalence is open to cultural variation. *L'enseignement rénové — vernieuwd onderwijs*, for example, the Belgian adaptation of reforms found in schools throughout Western Europe, seeks to achieve similar goals in both school regimes: selection of a new elite from a wide socio-economic base, postponement of a premature choice of a scholastic track, emphasis on small group work, use of the "discovery" method as a teaching tool, recognition of the need for personality development[12]. But the means to these ends, according to spokesmen from both Ministries, are not similar: there is much greater emphasis on the development of individualism in French-language schools, much greater emphasis on community values in Netherlandish schools. The visitor does not necessarily discern such cultural demarcations, but educators in each regime affirm that they exist[13].

These demarcations are not limited to the schools. Cultural life in a city which has separate French and Dutch radio stations, TV channels, theaters, symphony orchestras, each the creation of its own Cultural Council, also reflects the new communal structure — and illustrates the fragility of a bilateral design in a city where Francophones constitute more than 80% of the population[14]. The tensions that have accompanied fragmentation into linguistic components are a mark of the era. Riots broke out over the refusal of the mayor of Schaerbeek, a predominantly Francophone commune within Brussels, to create dual service windows in the communal center, one for Flemings, the other for Francophones[15].

Tensions accompanied the building of a new subway in Brussels when the ***Association du personnel wallon et francophone des services publiques*** claimed that names assigned certain stations showed a Flemish bias[16]. The division, however, of sports federations and libraries into linguistic components represents a *reductio ad absurdum* of the centrifugal impulse. "Désormais, on nagera en français et en flamand", noted *La Libre Belgique*[17] when subsidies were withdrawn from sports federations because Cultural Councils may not subsidize bilingual institutions. When faced with loss of funds, the overwhelming majority of sports groups in Brussels chose Francophone affiliation, thus leaving decimated ranks of Flemings with no effective competition[18]. In like manner, the majority of communal libraries — even in communes on the periphery of Brussels like Kraainem — chose to affiliate with the French-language Cultural Community, thus leaving many members of the Netherlandish community with no library at all[19].

Needless to say, the lesson that a bilateral design does not ensure equality for the numerically smaller group has not been lost on language strategists in the Netherlandish sector. Nevertheless, the 1970's have heralded a new era of confidence among Flemings. Within the Netherlandish Ministry of Education is a calm born of the assurance that this is a Flemish century, a stance which contrasts sharply with fears and anxieties among many Francophones. Netherlandish officials admit that certain Flemings still elect a French-language education for their children. But they also point out that three generations of Flemings now have gone all the way through school in their own language. Immigrants from Flanders no longer arrive in Brussels with an inbuilt sense of inferiority, for they know that a diploma from a Netherlandish school can guarantee entrée to certain jobs which were previously reserved for graduates of French-language institutions, whether in the higher echelons of government or in the Dutch-language school system. Flemings may not fare well when certain bilingual organizations in Brussels have had to segment into linguistic components, but they now have a wide network of their own organizations which serve as a cultural base[20]. And they are the majority in Belgium as a whole, the stronger political group with an emerging economic strength. "We are the majority. We have the economic and political power. We are acting the facts"[21].

Issues of the 1970's

Enrollment, Affirmative Action, and Finance

Nevertheless, only in Brussels where Flemings constitute less than 20% of the population, are two fully articulated systems of French- and Dutch-language schools in competition with each other. Flemings did enter the new era which began in 1971 with certain legislative safeguards — a kind of affirmative action program. But they have still had an uphill battle, for the promise of ten new Dutch-language schools a year[22] and of the right to preferential scholastic norms on which to project further expansion have not compensated for the impact of a declining birthrate on enrollment patterns during the very years when subsidies for schools were becoming less bountiful. Some of the enrollment losses in the Dutchregime have been more apparent than real, but the fact that they have occurred at all has exacerbated an already tense situation.

Throughout the 1970's enrollment in the Dutch-language sector declined at a faster rate than enrollment in the French-language sector. In Dutch-language nursery schools, there were 1204 fewer students in 1978 than in 1968; whereas French-language nursery schools lost only 738 students. In Dutch-language elementary schools, there were 4510 fewer students in 1978 than in 1968; whereas French-language elementary schools lost 3010. For every 100 students enrolled in Dutch-language *nursery* schools in 1968, there were only 80 in 1978; whereas in French-language schools there were 97. For every 100 students enrolled in Dutch-language *elementary* schools in 1968, there were only 70 students in 1978;

whereas in French schools there were 97. (See Table 22) The Netherlandish schools *have* lost students — a fact sometimes gleefully reported by the Francophone press, which on occasion has depicted preferential subsidy of Dutch-language neighborhood schools as if reporting a scene from the Theater of the Absurd instead of a rational government policy. According to *Le Soir*, in September 1979 only *one* child enrolled in the Dutch-language communal elementary school of Schaerbeek, only *two* in its nursery school; but these three children had available no less than three teachers, one of whom, the director of the school, taught *both* the religion course *and* the course in secular morality[23].

TABLE 22

Enrollment in French and in Dutch Nursery
and Elementary Schools in Brussels
Between 1968-1969 and 1977-1978

Year	Nursery Schools		Elementary Schools	
	French	Dutch	French	Dutch
1968-1969	35,853	6,141	85,299	15,150
1969-1970	36,203	6,085	86,737	14,993
1970-1971	36,203	6,085	86,737	14,993
1971-1972	36,889	5,654	87,340	14,373
1972-1973	36,402	5,570	86,790	13,777
1973-1974	36,798	5,600	86,083	13,238
1974-1975	36,812	5,450	85,677	12,557
1975-1976	37,372	5,401	84,625	11,839
1976-1977	36,817	5,137	83,391	11,310
1977-1978	35,115	4,937	82,289	10,637

SOURCE: Ministerie van Nationale Opvoeding en Nederlandse Cultuur, *Onderwijs Statistieken, Schooljaar 1978-1979*, pp. 59, 61.

Decline in enrollment during the 1970's notwithstanding, Netherlandish schools in Brussels have not fared quite as badly as the French-language press has implied, not if we compare earlier enrollment patterns. Between 1960 and 1971 the proportion of children enrolled in Netherlandish nursery schools in Brussels fell from 18.12% to 13.62%; in elementary schools, from 17.11% to 14.44% — a trend which caused militant Flemings in Antwerp to initiate a program of financial assistance to the Netherlandish regime in Brussels, as if the capital city were a kind of underdeveloped Flemish outpost[24]. Between 1971 and 1978, on the other hand, the proportion of Flemish children in Brussels nursery schools almost leveled off. In 1971 Flemings accounted for 13.62% of nursery school enrollments; in 1978, for 12.32% — barely a 1% loss. It is true that the proportion of children enrolled in Dutch-language *elementary* schools has continued to decline, falling from 14.44% in 1971 to 11.45% in 1978. (See Table 23) But for this there may be another explanation: In a city where one child in four is the child of a foreign worker[25], it is as possible to attribute some of the losses in the Dutch-language regime to the preference of migrant workers — many of whom are Spanish or Italian — for education in a Romance language as it is to attribute these losses solely to the continued preference of some Flemings for a French-language education for their children. This, at any rate, is the explanation given by officials of the

Netherlandish Ministry of Education, whose pride in the Netherlandish schools of Brussels remains unaffected by population projections.

TABLE 23

Percentage of Students Enrolled in Dutch and in French Nursery and Elementary Schools in Brussels Between 1960-1961 and 1977-1978

Year	Nursery Schools		Elementary Schools	
	French	Dutch	French	Dutch
1960-1961	81.88	18.12	82.89	17.11
1963-1964*	82.79	17.21	83.00	17.00
1964-1965	83.85	16.15	83.29	16.71
1965-1966	84.11	15.89	83.70	16.30
1966-1967	84.61	15.39	83.79	16.21
1967-1968	84.69	15.31	84.51	15.49
1968-1969	85.38	14.62	84.92	15.08
1969-1970	85.61	14.39	85.26	14.74
1970-1971	86.38	13.62	85.56	14.44
1971-1972	86.71	13.29	85.87	14.13
1972-1973	86.73	13.27	86.30	13.70
1973-1974	86.79	13.21	86.67	13.33
1974-1975	87.10	12.90	87.22	12.78
1975-1976	87.37	12.63	87.73	12.27
1976-1977	87.76	12.24	88.06	11.94
1977-1978	87.68	12.32	88.55	11.45

SOURCE: Years 1960-1961 through 1967-1968, Ministerie van Nationale Opvoeding en Nederlandse Cultuur. Unpublished tables. Years 1968-1969 through 1977-1978, Ministerie van Nationale Opvoeding en Nederlandse Cultuur, *Onderwijs-Statistieken, Schooljaar 1978-1979*, pp. 59, 61.

*No data given for 1962-1963.

Nevertheless, decline in the absolute number of children in Dutch-language schools did complicate implementation of the expansion program projected for the 1970's, particularly since this expansion was predicated on an already touchy issue: preferential scholastic norms which would grant a Dutch-language school of only 100 students a director, whereas a French-language school would need 300 students[26]. According to these norms there would need be *no* minimum number of students for creation of a new class in the Netherlandish regime, whereas twenty students would be needed in the French; fifteen students would be needed to add a second class in the Netherlandish regime, whereas thirty students would be needed in the French, etc.[27]

Predictably, there were angry outcries in the Francophone press when these norms were first publicized in 1971:

> On constate .. que pour l'ouverture des trois premieres classes flamandes, les normes sont plus favorables que celles que le gouvernement impose à l'enseignement aux enfants

> handicapés. Pris à la lettre, l'arrêté royal autorise l'ouverture et la survie d'une ecole qui ne serait fréquentée par aucun élève[28].

Protests over these norms even made their way to the *Conseil d'Etat*, but the *Zeitgeist* was on the side of affirmative action. In 1973 the *Conseil d'Etat* declared these scholastic norms to be a justifiable inequality because Flemings could not have real freedom of choice until they had a complete network of Dutch-language schools in Brussels[29].

Conseil d'Etat, not withstanding, the norms remained a source of tension. Impatience with differential provisions for the Netherlandish and French-language schools punctuated debates in the Communal Council of the Ville de Bruxelles throughout the decade — to give but one example. It is not that this preponderantly Francophone group was unwilling to accept responsibility for implementing separatism in schools under its administration. Its members did not hesitate to reiterate that it was their goal to place schools in the two communities "sur un pied d'egalite"[30]; but its Francophone members complained bitterly over arrangements which favored one language community over the other, calling the expansion of Flemish nursery schools with classes of no more than ten students unjustifiable discrimination when classes in French-language schools remained overcrowded[31].

Expansion in the Netherlandish sector did take place, particularly between 1971 and 1977 when the *Nederlandse Cultuur Commissie* created no less than 76 Dutch-language nursery schools[32]. By the end of the decade, however, the building program had slowed down. In 1977 the Communal Council of the Ville de Bruxelles was willing to create a Netherlandish school in a wing of Ecole 34/35, "avec une entrée séparée"; but it would no longer consider building a *new* secondary Dutch-language school — not with enrollments down 3% in communal Dutch-language nursery schools and a disastrous 6.5% in communal Dutch-language elementary schools[33]. As it was, the Council had already begun to encounter serious difficulty in recovering subsidies from the *Nederlandse Cultuur Commissie*[34]. By then, however, even the *Nederlandse Commissie* had concluded that demographic considerations no longer justified further use of funds for the building of new Netherlandish schools, that hereinafter emphasis would have to be shifted to expansion of existing facilities[35].

Emphasis did not shift, however, from continued subsidy of a number of cultural activities in the majority community, a fact which served to exacerbate the existing rivalry and to inflame the emotions of certain Flemings. It is not surprising that a dominantly Francophone section of Brussels such as Etterbeek should have allocated more funds for Francophone than for Flemish institutions such as schools, sports, housing, and social programs — to give one example from among many. Nor is it surprising that a front page editorial in *De Standaard* in December 1977 should have called into question the disparity of funds available to the two communities in Etterbeek[36]. The language war was far from over.

The announcement, therefore, in December 1979 that the two Ministers of Education, Jacques Hoyaux and Jef Ramaeckers, had reached a compromise that would lead to the release of funds for the construction of new schools has been welcome news. According to the terms of this new school pact, funds have been allocated for schools in both language communities, with terms especially favorable to schools experimenting with *l'enseignement rénové — vernieuwd onderwijs*. In these schools enrollments as low as 120 students during the first two years (versus 185 for traditional schools) are sufficient to qualify for subsidy; however, Netherlandish schools in Brussels and its periphery need only 3/4's of the normal norms to become part of this program[37]. It is, of course, too early to know whether this compromise will sooth or exacerbate rivalry between Flemings and Francophones over their respective stake in the schools of Brussels; but with such preferential treatment still available, prospects for the Netherlandish schools remain good even with declining enrollments.

Communal Boundaries and School Governance

The most inflamatory conflict over schools in Brussels during the 1970's did not directly involve any of the issues we have discussed so far: differentiation of the two regimes, declining enrollments, preferential norms, school finance. The most inflamatory conflict centered on schools in villages just outside the urban boundaries of Brussels, villages actually in Dutch-language territory. Six of these villages, the so-called *communes à facilités*, are allowed to provide Francophones living there with nursery and elementary schools. But even these facilities are available *only* to the children of Francophones who live in that commune. Francophones in neighboring villages, with or without facilities, may not cross communal boundaries to enroll their children — even if the boundaries are only a few feet from their homes. Thus Francophones in villages without facilities have no option but to send their children to school in Brussels — or even further away to Wallonia — if they wish them to have a French-langage education.

That the question of French-language education in the peripheral villages is an issue unlikely to disappear may be inferred by the numerical strength of Francophones living there. We have had no accurate assessment of their numbers since the last language census in 1947; but on the basis of indirect evidence such as the choice of a language for military service or for an identity card, we may infer that close to 60% of the inhabitants of the six communes with facilities is Francophone and in some communes even more[38]. This "minority" resents its disadvantageous position — and it is vocal in airing its grievances.

The controversy that has recently raged over "droit d'inscription", the right of Francophones in this peripheral region to register to vote in a district of Brussels, is largely tied to this educational issue[39], for Francophones in the peripheral villages would like nothing better than to have their region absorbed by the Brussels urban area. The question, however, of extending the boundaries of Brussels beyond its present nineteen communes is tied to Belgian politicolinguistics.

The underlying problem is who is to control the education of Francophone children living outside the boundaries of an official French-language geographical zone, a problem made all the more complicated by the fact that the six *communes à facilités* were assigned a special position directly under the control of the Vice-Governor of Brabant in 1963 but were made an integral part of the Dutch-language region after the status of Francophones in Kraainem was called into question by the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. At present, the Netherlandish Ministry controls *all* education in these villages and all allocation of subsidies for educational expenses. Indeed, directors in French-language schools located in the six communes must have, in addition to a valid diploma from a French-language school, sufficient proficiency in Dutch to correspond with the Netherlandish Ministry[40].

Francophones argue that, in an era of communal autonomy, the French Cultural Community should control French-language education. Flemings insist on control over *all* education in their linguistic territory. The issue of governance would not be a serious point of conflict, however, if French-language schools were equally available to Francophone children in these peripheral villages. In actuality, there are *no* French-language *secondary* schools, even in communes with facilities — and no French-language schools on any level in the other villages without facilities. The schools of Brussels are, therefore, the only viable alternative for the majority of Francophones just beyond the borders of the capital.

Transportation to the schools of Brussels is, however, a real problem; for no subsidies are available from the Netherlandish Ministry. Indeed, the Netherlandish Ministry even curtailed special subsidies for the transportation of handicapped Francophone children to a special French-language school within the city[41]. Some Roman Catholic schools in Brussels *do* supply bus service, but this is a service which exacerbates the emotions of certain free-thinking Francophone parents, who argue that they are deprived of a meanfulful choice if religious schools are their only option. That a group of these parents petitioned the

Communal Council of Uccle, a district in Brussels which borders on the periphery, to finance transportation for the 312 children from the peripheral region enrolled in its schools illustrates the invisibility of geographical boundaries to this particular population[42].

The boundaries have remained *very* visible to the Netherlandish Ministry of Education, however. In February 1979, Jef Ramaekers, Minister of Netherlandish Education, announced the termination of subsidies for the French-language school of Linkebeek, one of the six *communes à facilités*[43], because of its long-standing policy of enrolling children whose parents were not legal residents of the village. Although no more than nine students were involved in this controversy, some of them children of teachers who taught in the French-language school in Linkebeek but lived elsewhere, and in all probability no more than three children were the real source of the issue[44], the Linkebeek school became a *cause célèbre*. That it did is hardly surprising, for Linkebeek — according to a recent informal linguistic survey — was 70% Francophone by 1979. As *Le Soir* pointed out: "Celle-ci est socialement, économiquement, et linguistiquement, une commune de la région centrale et bilingue de pays"[45]. In Linkebeek individual and geographical cultural boundaries had merged.

The most tangible result of the Linkebeek crisis was a heightening of polarization in both communities. On the one hand, came promises of moral and even of financial support from the dominantly Francophone Communal Councils of Auderghem, Etterbeek, Wolowe-St. Pierre, Koekelberg, Ixelles, and St. Gilles[46]; on the other, reprisals from Flemish partisans, who painted "Linkebeek vlaams", in bold letters on the wall of the controversial school[47]. Even more significant was the exacerbation of tension in villages on other parts of the language line. There were marches and demonstrations in Voeren, a region once part of the Province of Liège in Wallonia, now part of Limbourg in Dutch-language territory; and even more serious outbreaks in the Comines, an area ceded to Hainaut in French-language territory from West Flanders. Flemish activists even suggested that funding of a Netherlandish school in the Comines region should be a prerequisite to a resolution of the school crisis in Linkebeek[48]. By June of 1979, however, the Linkebeek Communal Council had voted funds from its own resources to keep the French-language school open[49].

That the Linkebeek crisis should have erupted at the very moment when funds were no longer available for subsidy of the Jury which had in the past heard certain cases presented by the linguistic inspectorate, at a time when the language inspectorate had begun to narrow its focus to irregularities concerning *Belgians* rather than foreigners in the peripheral communities, is hardly surprising[50]. For the crisis symbolizes the point in Belgian history when the definition of internal boundaries had become the paramount issue. As Brian Weinstein has pointed out: "Manipulation of language variation accompanies the expansion and contraction of political frontiers over the centuries[51]. In bilingual Brussels the conflict has centered on the fluidity of the boundaries between two competing communities; but in the ring of villages just beyond the Brussels border, it centers on the immutability of geographical divisions — and on the disparity between language communities that are a function of geography and those that are a function of cultural identity.

Lessons From Babel

In this study we have charted the transformation of the schools of Brussels from an agency for acculturation to a Francophone national ethos to an agency for acculturation to two separate linguistic communities; from an agency for linguistic integration to an agency for linguistic segregation; from an agency for transmission of a traditional power structure to an agency for the reconstruction of Belgian society. Even restoration of parental freedom has not changed this accomplishment, although it has allowed the emergence of a fragile centripetal-centrifugal equilibrium within the unbalanced pivot that is the Brussels bilingual matrix. Let us admit the delicacy of this equilibrium and turn now to the lessons we may carry away from this visit to Babel.

Lesson one: *Bilingual schools do not necessarily lead to language maintenance.* This insight ushered in the Age of Separatism in the schools of Brussels in 1932. Granted, Belgium is not the only bilingual society to have made this observation. Canada also has had experience with bilingual education and with dual medium schools, although the Canadian dual medium schools offered instruction in *French* in grades one and two, introduction of English in grade three, and gradual transition to use of English as the dominant language of education thereafter[52] — a familiar pattern which also came to be viewed as a "one-way street to assimilation", according to the Symons Report in 1972[53]. Granted, also, other patterns of bilingual education could theoretically produce a balanced bilingualism[54]. The fact remains that in most societies where languages are in competition the dominant language group will not readily accept an education that diminishes its hegemony. For such a group the dual medium school serves a necessary function, for it *appears* to be a concession to the demands of a linguistic minority, yet its curriculum design favors transition to the target language and may actually hasten assimilation. A large number of bilingual programs in the United States are based on this model. Those that have substituted English as a second language for transitional use of the mother tongue have already accepted the implications of their own design.

Lesson two: *The democratization of a linguistic hierarchy is likely to bring demand for separate linguistic structures.* The emergence of separatist structures in the Brussels schools was a by-product of the emergence of Flemings as a social, economic, and political force to be reckoned with; but the social, economic, and political emergence of Flemings also coincided with their acceptance of a mother tongue mystique. Flemings could have continued to pay the price for assimilation within the Francophone world, the traditional road to advancement. Indeed, many still did. Their insistence, however, on a linguistic and ethnic identity equal in dignity to that of Francophones was a logical preamble to the emergence of separatist school structures that would nurture this identity. Granted that the existence of Flanders, a linguistic homeland in which Flemings were the majority — like the existence of Québec in Canada — provided a favorable reinforcement for separatists in the capital city. The fact remains that in any situation in which languages are in competition, the endangered group may decide to pull away from the mainstream, to garner its strengths, to defend its young from the blandishments of assimilation, and to prepare for an assertion of its right to a viable separate existence. We should not be surprised to see such a development within the Hispanic communities of the United States, which may also come to recognize the "danger" of bilingual education, the danger, at any rate, to those for whom linguistic integration is the first stage in a language shift.

Lesson three: *A byproduct of the democratization of linguistic function is a change in the kind of bilingualism found in a society where languages are in contact.* A linguistic hierarchy exists in a society whose members are willing to accept one language for public life, another for the home or church. It is, of course, possible to argue that acceptance of these differentiated functions need not connote a value system that debases the mother tongue, that the language used only on rare specified functions — for religious observances, for example — is actually the more valued language. But the child who is forbidden to use the mother tongue on the playground — a not uncommon situation in societies as disparate as the Shetland Islands, the villages of Wales, and cities in the United States in the early 20th century — is not likely to consider the forbidden language a hidden treasure. Such a child learns at a very early age to value what others value, including the language of others. The bilingualism of such a child will be a differentiated bilingualism, a conscious utilization of the preferred language as a mode of conveying his or her own worth and the relegation of the mother tongue to a circumscribed world. Conversely, a shift from a linguistic hierarchy to a value structure based on linguistic parity carries with it a shift in bilingual function, a desire to use the mother tongue for public functions heretofore reserved for the dominant language, a shift, in other words from a complementary to a supplementary pattern of bilingualism. This, too, is a byproduct of educational separatism.

Lesson four: *Use of schools to reconstruct society may produce greater conflict than the conflict it was designed to eliminate.* The curious part of the Brussels story is the fact that the language inspectorate existed in order to ensure equality between Flemings and Walloons, not in order to harass families who wished to enroll their children in schools outside of their linguistic identity group. A possible analogy is busing for racial balance in the United States, another attempt to use the schools for the reconstruction of society — and to do so by force if necessary. Within the context of each society, the goals of these experiments in social engineering are idealistc, but their implementation has exacerbated existing tensions. Parents do not take kindly to interference by the state in the education of their children, whatever the social goal.

One last comment is in order about the Brussels experiment with language maintenance. However difficult it may be for outsiders to understand the centrifugal evolution of this beleaguered society where languages are in daily contact, language planning in Brussels represents a serious attempt to find a social balance based on the equality, worth, and dignity. That a language inspectorate should classify children by linguistic function rather than by intelligence quotient or musical or athletic ability may strike us at first as strange. Yet such classification is no more strange than the present emphasis in the United States on racial balance in schools, on enumeration of students according to ethnic, linguistic, and religious status, or on assigning Hispanic children to special, linguistically homogenous classes where they are either instructed in their mother tongue or in English as a second language. It is the juxtaposition of the Brussels experience with the role of this city as an international crossroad that surprises. Linguistic ethnicity seems out of place in such a cosmopolitan center. Antoine Meillet, however, would not have found the centripetal-centrifugal crossfire within this bilingual zone surprising, nor the resultant instability; for he and his generation of linguists assumed instability to be the norm for bilingual societies. In an age of ethnicity we ignore this insight at our peril. Perhaps Belgium deserves more credit than one may at first suspect for daring to seek a stable, just *modus vivendi*. Have we in North American done better with the centrifugal forces in our midst?

Notes

[1] Toward the end of the decade the inspectorate paid less attention to the linguistic abilities of Americans enrolling in the French-language schools of *les six*, thus eliminating another source of tension. Private communication, A. Doppagne, July 1979.

[2] The Netherlandish Cultural Council remained an organic unit, supervising institutions in Flanders and Dutch-language institutions in Brussels. The French Cultural Council subdivided into a Council for Wallonia, a Council for French-language institutions in Brussels, and a Council for the whole.

[3] One of the issues unresolved as of this writing is whether or not to delete the word *cultural* from Article 3-C, thus leaving the concept of community open to other interpretations. For a discussion of the difference between *region, cultural community*, and *group* in Belgium, see Xavier Mabille, "Le système de la décision politique en Belgique", *Dossiers du CRISP*, no 11 (novembre 1977), p. 26.

[4] The French-language Ministry of Education also supervises German-language schools in the German-language region and German-French dual medium schools, the only legal dual-medium schools in Belgium.

[5] *Loi du 26 juillet 1971*, Article 88. The new inscription form requires parents to give their official residence but not their mother tongue or usual language. Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Culture Française, 9 septembre 1974. (Mimeographed memo.) 7/4261, III/3/44.

[6] The *Loi du 27 juillet 1971* modified Article 10 of the *Loi du 30 juillet 1963* to allow instruction in the second language to begin as early as the first year of school provided such instruction is in oral use of the second language.

[7] Interview with M. Knaepen, Brussels, June 1976, with A. Doppagne, Nivelles, July 1979, with M. Totté, Brussels, July 1979.

[8] *Le Soir*, 3 août 1979, p. 2.

[9] *Ibid.*, 6 juillet 1976, p. 1.

[10] *Ibid.*, 19 juillet 1979, p. 2. This reassessment of the need of bilingualism correlates with public opinion samples reported by Albert Verdoodt, "Les problèmes communautaires belges à la lumière des études d'opinion", *Courrier Hebdomadaire du CRISP*, no 742, (12 novembre 1976).

[11] Interview with R. Totté, Brussels, July 1979.

[12] Herman Corijn, "Het V.S.O. en de Universiteit" (mimeographed typescript, 1976). Madeleine Verdière-de-Vits, "Organisation de l'enseignement en Belgique. Enseignement rénové" (mimeographed typescript, 1971). Ministries of National Education, "Education in Belgium: The Main Trends". Report presented at the XXXVth International Conference on Education (Brussels: Direction Générale de l'Organisation des Etudes, Ministrie van Nationale Opvoeding en Nederlandse Cultuur, 1975.

[13] These observations are based on interviews with officials in both the French and the Netherlandish Ministries of Education in 1976 and in 1979.

[14] André Monteyne, "Le monde flamand de Bruxelles", *Courrier Hebdomadaire du CRISP*, no 776 (21 octobre 1977), p. 3.

[15] "L'évolution du Rassemblement wallon d'avril 1974 à mars 1977", *Courrier Hebdomadaire du CRISP*, no 786 (3 février 1978), pp. 24-25.

[16] *Le Soir*, 9 mai 1978, p. 7.

[17] *La Libre Belgique*, 13 novembre 1977, p. 1.

[18] "L'autonomie culturelle et l'aide communautaire aux fédérations sportives", *Courrier Hebdomadaire du CRISP*, nos 791-792 (24 mars 1978).

[19] "La lecture publique dans la Belgique des communautés", *Courrier Hebdomadaire du CRISP*, nos 843-844 (15 juin 1979).

[20] Monteyne, "Le monde flamand".

[21] Interview with R. Totté, Brussels, July 1979.

[22] *Loi du 30 juillet 1963*, Article 21.

[23] *Le Soir*, 4 septembre 1979, p. 2.

[24] André Monteyne, "Le monde flamand de Bruxelles", *Courrier Hebdomadaire du CRISP*, no 777 (18 novembre 1977).

[25] *La réforme de l'Etat belge de 1974 jusqu'au Pacte Communautaire, Documents-Cepess XVI*, nos 5-6 (1977), pp. 182-183. *Le Soir*, 5 décembre 1979, p. 2.

[26] *Le Soir*, 31 mai 1971, p. 2.

[27] See Table 16, p. 200.

[28] *Le Soir*, 1er juin 1971, p. 2. (One notes ... that for the opening of the first three Flemish classes the norms are more favorable than those which the government imposes for the education of handicapped children. Taken literally, the Royal Decree authorizes the opening and the supervision of a school which may not be frequented by *any* student.)

[29] Conseil d'Etat, *Contentieux de l'annulation* (6), 1er février 1973, no 15693.

[30] Archives de la Ville de Bruxelles, *Bulletin Communal*, 27 septembre 1971.

[31] *Ibid.*, 5 juillet 1971, pp. 46-51.

[32] Monteyne, "Le monde flamand", p. 4.

[33] *Bulletin Communal*, 3 octobre 1977, pp. 384-388.

[34] *Ibid.*, 22 mai 1978, pp. 931-933.

[35] Monteyne, "Le monde flamand".

[36] *De Standaard*, "Neem nu Etterbeek", 23 december 1977.

[37] *Le Soir*, 4 décembre 1979, p. 2.

[38] *Courrier Hebdomadaire du CRISP*, nos 466-467 (16 février 1970). *Le Soir*, 5 décembre 1979, p. 2.

[39] *La Réforme de l'Etat belge de 1974 jusqu'au Pacte Communautaire, Documents Cepess XVI*, nos 5-6 (1977). See also Jacques Brassinnes, "Les 99 jours de crise communautaire de décembre 1978 au 26 mars 1979", *Courrier Hebdomadaire du CRISP*, nos 847-848, 29 juin 1979; nos 849-850, 6 juillet 1979. One of the reasons for the failure of the Pacte d'Egmont is that *droit d'inscription* would have augmented the power of Francophones in Brussels.

[40] Interview with A. Doppagne, July 1979.

[41] *Le Soir*, 6 juillet 1976, p. 8.

[42] Monique Paul Claes, "Selon que vous serez élève flamand ou francophone", *FDF Contract* 10, no 12 (1er juin 1976 p. 7.

[43] *Le Soir*, 21 février 1979, p. 1.

[44] Private conversation with a member of the French-language inspectorate, July 1979.

[45] *Le Soir*, 25 janvier 1979, p. 2.

[46] *Ibid.*, 4/5 mars 1979, 11/12 mars 1979, 23 mars 1979, 3 avril 1979.

[47] *Ibid.*, 7 mars 1979, p. 2.

[48] *Ibid.*, 26/27 août 1979, p. 2.

[49] *Ibid.*, 29 juin 1979, p. 2.

[50] Interview with A. Doppagne, July 1979.

[51] Brian Weinstein, "Language Strategists: Redefining Political Frontiers on the Basis of Linguistic Choices", *World Politics* 31, no. 3 (April 1979): 346.

[52] *Report of the Committee on French-language Schools in Ontario* (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1968), pp. 15-22.

[53] *Ministerial Commission on French-language Secondary Education* [Symons Report] (Toronto: William Kinmond, Queen's Printer, 1972), p. 15.

[54] See William F. Mackey, "A Typology of Bilingual Education", *Foreign Language Annals* 3 (May 1970): 598-608.

APPENDIX A

CONSTITUTION OF BELGIUM OF 7 FEBRUARY 1831
(amended on 7th September 1893, 15th November 1920,
7th February, 24th August and 15th October 1921)

HEADING II
CONCERNING THE BELGIANS AND THEIR RIGHTS

Art. 17. Education is free; any preventive measure is forbidden; the punishment of misdemeanors is regulated only by law.

Public education provided at the expense of the State is also regulated by law.

Art. 23. The use of the languages spoken in Belgium is optional; it may only be regulated by law and only in the case of acts by the public authorities and of legal matters.

APPENDIX B

LAW OF 14 JULY 1932

On language regulations in primary and secondary education in Belgium.

Chapter I

PRIMARY EDUCATION

I. *The Flemish area, the Walloon area and the German-speaking communes*

Article 1. The language of instruction in nursery schools and municipal, adopted or adoptable primary schools shall be Flemish in the Flemish area, French in the Walloon area, and German in the German-speaking communes.

Article 2. Children whose mother tongue or usual language is not that of the region have the right to be taught in their mother tongue. However, the communes and the school boards of maintained schools or those which qualify for maintenance will continue to decide as to the reality of this linguistic need and the expedience of satisfying it. The needs of children whose parents do not possess Belgian citizenship shall not be taken into account.

Article 3. The communes and the heads of schools which have been or may be adopted may provide, as from the fifth year of primary school, classes for the teaching of the second language.

At the request of heads of families which represent at least twenty-five children at each level of schooling, the Minister, after consulting the local school authorities, shall institute, in the third and fourth forms, an optional class in the second language, the same principles being applied to decide the number of hours to be devoted to such teaching.

The classes mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 2 shall not exceed three hours in the third and six hours in the fourth forms respectively.

Staff required to teach these classes shall be recruited from the normal staff of local schools.

Article 4. From the second form in primary schools, children admitted to the classes provided for in Article 2 must learn the language of the region sufficiently to enable them to follow successfully, in that language after completing the third form of primary education either the fourth form of primary education or classes at a technical or high school.

II. *The Brussels urban area and the linguistic boundary*

Article 5. In schools in the Brussels urban area and in the bilingual communes on the linguistic boundary, the language of instruction shall be the mother tongue or usual language of the child.

Article 6. In the localities mentioned in the foregoing Article, the second national language shall be taught, from the third year of primary school, for at least three but not more than six hours a week.

In these same localities, the teaching of the second language before the third year of schooling and the organization of concentrated courses in the second language may be authorised by a Royal Decree, after deliberation in the Council of Ministers, and published in the "Moniteur" (Official Gazette) where local conditions justify such measures, although no deviation may be made from the general principle laid down in Article 5, and provided that not more than one-third of the time-table is devoted to this purpose.

III. *General provision*

Article 7. In the case of doubt as to the correctness of the declaration by the father of a family as to the child's mother tongue or usual language, there shall be an examination during the first month of the school year by a board composed of two inspectors of schools and the principal of the school or a teacher appointed by him. If the board's decision is negative, the Mayor and heads of municipal departments (Collège échevinal) and the board of the private school, as well as the head of the family concerned, may appeal to the competent Minister against the decision of the board.

Chapter II

SECONDARY EDUCATION

A. *Upper and lower secondary schools*

I. *The Flemish area, the Walloon area and the German-speaking communes*

Article 8. In establishments governed by the secondary education Act, the language of instruction shall be Flemish, French or German, according to whether the establishment is situated in the Flemish area, the Walloon area or in a German-speaking commune.

Article 9. Existing special language classes shall be maintained as long as the number of pupils in one of the three following categories using them justifies their continuation.

(a) pupils now registered in them;

(b) pupils now doing their primary schooling in special language classes and who have been unable to acquire a sufficient command of the language of the region to follow successfully classes in the language normally prescribed by Article 8;

(c) pupils of Belgian nationality whose mother tongue or usual language is not the language of the region and who have completed their primary or begun their secondary education at a school not subject to the linguistic situation prevailing in that region, provided that there are at least eight such pupils in each class and that they have not voluntarily withdrawn from the regional primary school system.

When appropriate, special classes may be abolished by a Royal Decree containing the reasons for so doing published in the "Moniteur". Abolition may be partial and gradual year by year.

Article 10. At least four hours per week shall be devoted to the teaching of a second language in all classes. Further, if this second language is one of the two national languages, heads of families may require intensive teaching of it. This supplementary teaching shall be optional.

Article 11. The Minister may, on grounds of local conditions and, in particular, having regard to the language of instruction in schools of the region, provide for the intensive teaching of French or Flemish. Such teaching shall be optional. Its provision shall not affect the general principle stated in Article 8.

II. *The Brussels urban area and the linguistic boundary*

Article 12. In establishments situated in the Brussels urban area and the bilingual communes on the linguistic boundary, the language of instruction shall be the pupil's mother tongue or usual language.

Article 13. In the establishments referred to in the foregoing Article, the teaching of French shall be compulsory in Flemish schools and the teaching of Flemish shall be compulsory in French schools. The provision of such teaching may not, however, have the effect of depriving the child's mother tongue of its predominance as the language of instruction.

B. *Preparatory sections attached to schools*

I. *The Flemish area, the Walloon area and the German-speaking communes*

Article 14. The language of instruction in the primary classes (preparatory sections) attached to lower secondary schools shall be Flemish in the Flemish area, French in the Walloon area, and German in the German-speaking communes.

Article 15. Children whose mother tongue or usual language is not that of the region have the right to be taught in their mother tongue. The competent Minister, however, shall decide as to the reality of such need and the expediency of satisfying it. The needs of children whose parents do not possess Belgian citizenship shall not be taken into account.

Article 16. The Minister for Science and Arts may provide, as from the fifth year of schooling, classes for the teaching of the second language.

At the request of a number of heads of families which together represent at least twenty-five children of school age, the provision of such classes is compulsory, but attendance at such classes shall be optional for children whose parents have not requested it.

The classes mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 2 shall be provided in accordance with the rules laid down for the corresponding classes in primary schools.

Article 17. From the second form in primary schools, children admitted to the special classes provided for in Article 15 must learn the language of the region sufficiently to enable them successfully to follow classes at a secondary school. A Royal Decree shall state how this provision is to be applied.

II. *The Brussels urban area and the linguistic boundary*

Article 18. In primary schools (preparatory sections) attached to lower secondary schools in the Brussels urban area and the bilingual communes on the linguistic boundary, the language of instruction shall be the child's mother tongue or usual language.

Article 19. In the classes referred to in the foregoing Article, the second national language shall be taught from the third year of schooling for at least three but not more than six hours a week.

In these classes, the teaching of the second language before the third year of schooling and the organization of concentrated courses in the second language may be authorized by a Royal Decree after deliberation in the Council of Ministers and publication in the "Moniteur" where local conditions justify such measures, although no deviation may be made from the general principle laid down in Article 18 and provided that not more than one third of the time-table is devoted to this purpose.

C. *General provision*

Article 20. In the case of doubt as to the correctness of the declaration by the father of a family as to the child's mother tongue or usual language, there shall be an examination during the first month of the school year by a board composed of the headmaster or his deputy as chairman, and of two members of the staff, of whom one shall be a teacher of the first language and the other a teacher of the second language.

The governmental inspector, as well as the head of the family concerned, may appeal to the competent Minister against the decision of the board.

Chapter III

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Article 21. The Brussels urban area shall comprise the communes which are included in that area in the Act on the use of languages for administrative purposes.

The bilingual communes shall be deemed to be those communes on the linguistic boundary which are defined as bilingual in the above-mentioned Act.

Article 22. In all communes where the ten-yearly census shows that more than 20% of the population habitually speaks a language other than that of the region, the teaching of such second language may, if the authorities of such communes and heads of adopted or adoptable schools so desire, begin in the second form.

Article 23. In applying this Act to the German-speaking communes and the communes on the German linguistic boundary, deviations justified by local conditions may be authorised by a Royal Decree, published in the "Moniteur".

Article 24. In order to ensure thorough instruction in the second national language in secondary schools, the Minister for Science and Art may provide for general courses if private schools in the region use languages other than the regional language to teach one or more subjects on the curriculum.

This instruction shall not be taken into account in awarding or homologating secondary school certificates.

Article 25. Any decision taken by the local education authorities to change the linguistic system shall be reported to the Minister for Science and Art.

Article 26. Before permission is granted to teach in French, Flemish or German, all teachers shall submit a diploma proving that they possess a thorough knowledge of the language in which they intend to teach.

Article 27. The Minister for Science and Art shall appoint special inspectors to verify, at the beginning of each school year, that the provisions of this Act are being applied.

These inspectors shall be appointed by Royal Decree from a double list of candidates submitted by the Royal Academy of French Language and Literature and the Royal Academy of the Flemish Language and Literature.

Article 28. The provisions of the primary education, concerning the withdrawal of subsidies from schools on the ground of their failure to comply with the legal requirements, shall apply to cases of non-compliance with the provisions of Articles 1 to 7, 25 and 26 of this Act.

The payment of all subsidies shall be suspended where failure to comply with the legal requirements is found to exist on two occasions by the special inspectors referred to in Article 27.

Article 29. The present law shall be brought into force progressively beginning with the 1932-1933 school year.

The Law of 15th June 1883 will be repealed progressively as the provisions of Chapter II (Secondary education) are implemented.

Application of the provisions relating to primary education may be delayed by one year in certain schools in the Brussels urban area where lack of appropriate staff makes this delay inevitable. If need be, this necessity will be confirmed by a Royal Decree, published in the "Moniteur belge". As from the 1937-38 school year, no further dispensations will be granted.

We hereby promulgate this Act and order that the State seal be appended to it. The Act shall then be published in the "Moniteur".

Done in Brussels on 14th July 1932.

APPENDIX C

ARTICLE 24 OF THE LAW OF 29 MAY 1959 (EXTRACTS)

1. The present rules governing qualification by nursery and primary schools for subsidies shall continue in force. Establishments or sections of establishments providing secondary, technical or artistic education or teacher's training shall be eligible for subsidy after functioning for one year, on a recommendation to this effect by the inspectorate...

2. A school or section of an establishment providing nursery, primary, secondary, technical or artistic education or teachers' training shall be subsidized if it complies with the laws and regulations concerning the organization of studies and the implementation of the language laws.

APPENDIX D

LAW OF 30 JULY 1963

Subject:
Law relating to the use of languages in education

Chapter I

SCOPE OF APPLICATION – DEFINITIONS

Article one. Official nursery, primary and secondary schools, teacher training, technical and art colleges, and special educational establishments and similar private establishments subsidized or recognized by the State shall be subject to the provisions of this act.

However, establishments situated in the communes referred to in paragraph 1 of Article 7, of the Act on the use of languages in administrative matters are subject to the provisions of paragraph 3 of that Article with regard to the language of instruction and to instruction in the second language.

Article 2. The linguistic regions to which this Act applies are those defined by the Act on the use of languages for administrative purposes.

Article 3. A special regime designed to protect minorities applies to the following:

(1) The communes on the linguistic boundary: Commines, Houthem, Bas-Warneton, Warneton, Ploegsteert, Messines, Mouscron, Luingne, Herseaux, Dottignies, Espierres, Helchin, Renaix, Flobecq, Biévène, Marcq, Enghien, Petit-Enghien, Herstappe, Mouland, Fouron-le-Comte, Fouron-Saint-Martin, Fouron-Saint-Pierre, Remesdaal, Teuwen;

(2) communes in the German-speaking area;

(3) the communes of Malmédy, Bellevaux-Ligneuville, Bevercé, Faymonville, Robertville and Waimes, known as the "Malmédy communes";

(4) the communes of Baelen, Gemmenich, Henri-Chapelle, Hombourg, Membach, Montzen, Moresnet, Sippenaeken, Welkenraedt.

Chapter II

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

Article 4. The language of instruction shall be Dutch in the Dutch-speaking area, French in the French-speaking area and German in the German-speaking area, with the exception of the cases provided for in Articles 6 to 8.

Article 5. In the Greater Brussels district, the language of instruction shall be Dutch or French according to the child's mother tongue or usual language. Classes where the language of instruction is French and classes where the language of instruction is Dutch may not be placed under the same management but shall fall under the responsibility of their respective linguistic inspectorate.

In any one district the State shall organize and subsidize, according to conditions laid down by the King, any nursery and primary education necessary to enable heads of family to comply with the obligation referred to in paragraph 1 by respecting their right to send their children to a school of their choice at a reasonable distance.

Article 6. In the communes referred to in Article 3, children may receive nursery and primary education in another national language if that language is the child's mother tongue or usual language and if the head of the family is resident in one of the communes in question.

Such instruction may be organized only at the request of heads of family the number of whom must equal that fixed by the Decree implementing Article 4 of the Act of 29th May 1959 amending the law on nursery, primary and secondary schools and teachers' training, technical and art colleges, and who do not find any school giving such instruction within the distance laid down in implementation of the said Article 4.

Such education must be organized by the commune to which the request referred to in paragraph 2 is addressed.

The right of parents defined in Article 4 of the Act of 29th May 1959 must be respected.

Article 7. Article 4 shall not apply to the nursery and primary schools organized by the State at the request of the Minister of National Defence at Arlon, Bourg-Léopold and Ostend which are open only to children of military personnel coming under a different language system from that of the area where they are stationed. For the application of this provision, the linguistic system for career officers and reserve officers shall be decided according to the first language of which they have a thorough knowledge; for other servicemen it shall be decided in accordance with the system they have declared applicable to them.

The following exceptions to the provisions of Article 4 may be provided for by a Royal Decree after deliberation in the Council of Ministers and in full in the "Moniteur belge";

(1) Classes open only to children who leave the commune in which they have their domicile, either for reasons of health or because their parents have no permanent residence and who, in accordance with this Act, would be taught in such commune in a language other than that of the region in which the school is situated;

(2) Special education classes, technical education classes which are at present in existence, and secondary school classes which are at present in existence, serving as teacher-training for a university and which are situated in the same urban area as such university. Such classes shall be open only to children whose mother tongue or usual language is not the language taught in the region in which the school is situated, and where the head of the family resides outside such region or is governed by the special regime provided for in Article 40 of the Act on the use of languages in administrative matters: they are also open to children of foreign nationality where the head of the family belongs to an organization set up under international law, an embassy, legation or consulate.

Article 8. According to the conditions laid down by Royal Decree after deliberation in the Council of Ministers, part of the instruction may be provided in French, in German-language schools, and in German, in French-language schools in the German-speaking communes, from the third year of primary education.

The decrees issued by the King must be confirmed by law not later than one year after publication in the "Moniteur belge".

Chapter III

TEACHING OF THE SECOND LANGUAGE

Article 9. The second language may be taught as from the fifth year of primary school for not more than three hours a week. However, in the communes referred to in Articles 3, (2), such instruction may be organized from the first year of schooling.

The second language shall be:

— in the Dutch-language area, French;

— in the French-language area, Dutch; it may be German in the districts (arrondissements) of Verviers, Bastogne and Arlon;

— in the German-language area, French in the German language schools and German in the French-language schools.

Article 10. The teaching of the second language shall be compulsory in primary schools in the district of Greater Brussels and in the communes referred to in Article 3. Such instruction shall be for three hours a week in the second form and for five hours a week in the third and fourth forms.

In primary schools founded in pursuance of Article 6 in a commune referred to in Article 3 (1), however, the number of such hours shall be increased to four and eight respectively.

The second language shall be French or Dutch. It may be German in the districts of Verviers, Bastogne and Arlon.

Such teaching may include other subjects studied.

In the communes referred to in Article 3 (1) certain subjects may be taught in secondary schools in the second language. The King shall prescribe these subjects, as well as their number for each commune concerned.

Article 11. In secondary schools in the district of Greater Brussels where a second language is taught, such second language shall be French or Dutch.

Article 12. At the request of the head of the family, children of foreign nationality may be exempted from instruction in the second language when the head of the family belongs to an organization set up under international law, an embassy, legation or consulate or when he is not resident in Belgium.

Chapter IV

LINGUISTIC CAPACITIES OF STAFF

Article 13. An educational establishment may recruit to its management, or to its teaching and administrative staff only persons who have furnished proof of their thorough knowledge of the language of instruction of the establishment, or in bilingual establishments, of the section to which they are appointed.

For teachers of modern languages, other than the language of instruction, who possess the necessary diploma, proof of adequate knowledge of the language of instruction shall be sufficient.

Article 14. In primary schools where instruction in the second language is compulsory by law, such instruction shall be provided by a teacher who has furnished proof that he knows the second language thoroughly and has at least an adequate knowledge of the language of instruction.

Article 15. A candidate shall be said to furnish proof that he knows a language thoroughly if he has obtained in that language the diploma required for his recruitment or if he produces a certificate confirming that he has passed an examination, before an examining body set up by royal decree, establishing that he knows that language thoroughly.

A candidate shall be said to furnish proof of adequate knowledge of a language if the diploma required for his recruitment refers to that fact or if he produces a certificate confirming that he has passed an examination, before an examining body set up by royal decree, establishing that he knows that language adequately.

Article 16. When an establishment has difficulties in finding a candidate with the necessary linguistic capacities, the Minister may grant temporary deviation from the provisions of Articles 13 and 14. Such deviation shall be valid for one year only and may not be renewed more than twice.

Chapter V

CONTROL

Article 17. The head of every school is responsible for registering a pupil for education through the medium of a particular language, in accordance with the provisions of Articles 5, 6 and 7 and of this law.

In all cases in which the child's language of instruction is determined by his or her mother tongue or usual language, the head of the school may register the child in a particular language section only on production of one of the following:

(a) a certificate issued by the head of the school which the pupil has just left, certifying that his previous schooling has been through that language;

(b) a language declaration by the head of the child's family, and approved by the language inspectorate in all cases where the inspectorate has no doubts as to the correctness of such declaration;

(c) a decision by the Commission or Board referred to in Article 18.

Where a child is registered at a nursery school for the first time, the head of the school may, however, admit him on production of a language declaration. The latter must, within one month, be forwarded to the language inspectorate for verification.

In the case of pupils enrolled in schools in the Greater Brussels district whose parents reside outside that district, the language of instruction shall, in the absence of any declaration to the contrary by the head of the family and approved by the language inspectorate, be the language of the region in which the parents are resident.

The King shall lay down standard forms for the certificate and declaration, which shall comprise any information likely to facilitate the verification of their accuracy.

Without prejudice to any criminal proceedings which may be brought, any fraudulent or incorrect entry by the head of the school may result in disciplinary action or the withdrawal of subsidies for a period not exceeding six months for each offence.

Article 18. Educational establishments shall be subject to the language inspectorate whose organization and operation shall be regulated by the King.

The language inspectorate is specifically charged with permanent control over the application of the provisions of the present Act relating to the use of languages in education.

All language declarations shall be countersigned by two inspectors, one from each linguistic system.

In the event of disagreement between the two inspectors, the case shall be referred to a board appointed by the King.

The head of family may appeal against the decision of the inspectors or of the board to a panel appointed by the King.

The King shall lay down the procedure to be followed and the time-limits to be observed for the application of this Article and of Article 17.

Chapter VI

HOMOLOGATION

Article 19. Only school-leaving certificates that have been issued by the educational establishments referred to in Article 1, or by other independent educational establishments in accordance with the provisions of this Act, may be subject to homologation.

An exception shall be made in the case of certificates issued by a university by way of exception from Article 4 of this Act to recognize studies during a preparatory year for the status of "candidat ingénieur civil".

Chapter VII

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS

Article 20. In schools founded in Belgium under an international convention to which Belgium is a Party, the language of instruction shall be determined in accordance with Article 4 and the first paragraph of Article 5 of this Act:

(1) for pupils of Belgian nationality;

(2) for pupils of foreign nationality where the head of the family resides in Belgium and does not belong to an organization set up under international law, an embassy, legation or consulate or an institution of an international nature recognized as such by Royal Decree in accordance with the opinion of the Permanent Commission for linguistic control.

Nevertheless, in schools situated outside the district of Greater Brussels, the language of instruction may be the mother tongue or usual language of a pupil of Belgian nationality where the head of the family belongs to an organization established under international law and makes a declaration, verified by the language inspectorate, that the pupil's mother tongue or usual language is not that of the region in which the school is situated.

Chapter VIII

TRANSITIONAL PROVISIONS

Article 21. Until such time as heads of families within the district of Greater Brussels are able to send their children to an official Dutch-speaking school situated at a reasonable distance, the State can establish ten primary schools with nursery classes every year, their location being decided in the light of the opinion of the language inspectorate.

Article 22. Without prejudice to the application of Article 7, the present Act shall be applied gradually year by year in primary and secondary schools, teachers' training, technical, art and special colleges, as from the school year 1963-64, except in secondary education provided in the communes on the linguistic boundary where it shall be applied as from the school year 1964-65.

Article 23. The provisions of Articles 13 and 14 shall not apply to members of staff who, by virtue of earlier laws and regulations, have been legally appointed to establishments which comply with the provisions of the present Act.

In establishing the position of members of the boards of schools in the Greater Brussels district in which a dual linguistic system operates and provided they have already taken up their posts on the date of publication of the present Act, account shall be taken of the number of pupils, during the school year 1962-63, who were in those sections of their school destined to be abolished by the application of Article 5, (1).

Chapter IX

FINAL PROVISIONS

Article 24. The following are hereby repealed:

(1) the Law of 14th July 1932 on language regulations in primary and intermediate education in Belgium;

(2) the Law of 15th July 1932 supplementing the provisions of Article 5 of the law of 19th April 1890/3rd July 1891 on the conferring of academic degrees;

(3) Articles 54-67 of the primary education laws co-ordinated on 20th August 1957 and amended by the law of 29th May 1959;

(4) Articles 58-73 and Article 80 of the Secondary education laws, co-ordinated on 30th April 1957;

(5) Articles 20-23 of the technical education laws, co-ordinated on 30th April 1957;

(6) Article 5, paragraphs 2-5, of the laws on the conferring of academic degrees and the university examinations syllabus, co-ordinated on 31st December 1949, together with Article 5 bis, introduced by the law of 28th April 1955 and Article 5 ter, paragraph 2, introduced by the law of 12th March 1958.

Article 25. The present law shall enter into force on 1st September 1963.

We hereby promulgate this law and order that the State seal be appended to it. The law shall then be published in the "Moniteur belge".

Done at Brussels on 30th July 1963.

Baudouin
By Order of the King
V. Larock
Minister of Education and Culture
R. Van Elslande
Minister for Culture
Deputy to the Minister of Education
Seen and sealed with the State seal
P. Vermeylen
Minister of Justice

APPENDIX E

LAW OF 2 AUGUST 1963

Law on the Use of Languages in Administrative Matters

Article 7 (1) The following shall constitute a separate administrative district with its own special status under the Vice-Governor of the province of Brabant, ...: the communes of Drogenbos, Kraainem, Linkebeek, Rhode-Saint-Genese, Wemmel and Wezembeek-Oppem.

Article 7 (3) Schooling in the six communes:

A. Teaching shall be in Dutch.

The second language may be taught at the primary level to the extent of four hours a week in the second form and eight hours a week in the third and fourth forms.

B. Nursery and primary schooling may be given to children in French if that is their maternal or usual language and if the head of the family resides in one of these communes.

Such schooling may be provided only on the request of 16 heads of families residing within the commune.

The commune to which such an application is made must organize such schooling.

The teaching of the second national language shall be compulsory in primary schools to the extent of four hours a week in the second form and eight hours a week in the third and fourth forms.

APPENDIX F

30 NOVEMBER 1966

ROYAL DECREE DEFINING THE FUNCTIONS OF SCHOOL LANGUAGE INSPECTORS

Article 1. The duties of chief inspectors shall be to co-ordinate and control the work of the language inspectors. They shall also be responsible for permanently supervising application of the Act of 30th July 1963 relating to the use of languages in secondary education.

Article 2. Inspectors shall be responsible for permanently supervising the application of the Act of 30th July 1963 relating to the use of languages in nursery and primary schools.

Article 3. Language inspectors shall be responsible for checking the details of a pupil's first enrolment in pursuance of Section 17 of the Act.

Article 4. In connection with their duties, inspectors may appeal to the competent inspector of the province where an inquiry takes place, assisted by a colleague belonging to the other linguistic system in an adjacent province.

Article 5. No chief inspector or inspector may act independently of his colleague from the other linguistic system.

Article 6. In regard to the application of Article 17, (2) (b) the head of a school may provisionally admit a child to the school on production of a language declaration by the head of the family.

The language declaration shall be forwarded to the language inspectorate on the day the child is admitted by the head of the school.

The language inspectorate shall countersign the language declaration by the head of the family within one month of receipt.

Within the same time-limit, the Secretary General of the Ministry shall transmit to the chairman of the board mentioned in Articles 17 and 18 of the Act of 30th July 1963, any files on which the two chief inspectors do not agree.

Within the same time-limit the chief inspectors shall transmit to the chairman of the board all files on which the two inspectors do not agree.

The head of the school shall be advised of this decision and shall notify the head of the family, by registered letter, of its content.

Article 7 (1). The board shall be composed of a Chairman, a deputy chairman, four members and an equal number of substitute members, all of whom shall be appointed by the King.

Article 7 (2). The Chairman and the deputy chairman shall be chosen from present, former or honorary bi-lingual officers of Courts of first instance.

Half the number of members and substitute members shall be chosen from the Dutch-language inspectors and the other half from the French-language inspectors. Half the number appointed shall be from State education and the other half from private subsidized education.

Article 7 (3). The board shall give its decision not later than one month after receipt of the file.

Article 7 (4). The board shall communicate its motivated decision to the head of the school and to the head of the family by registered letter.

Article 8. Any appeal against decisions of the inspectors or of the board must be lodged within ten days of the notification of such decisions to the head of the family.

Article 9 (1). The jury shall be composed of a chairman, a deputy-chairman, four members and an equal number of substitute members all of whom shall be appointed by the King.

The chairman and the deputy chairman shall be chosen from present, retired or honorary bi-lingual Judges of Appeal.

Half the number of members and substitute members shall be chosen from general state inspectors of primary or secondary schools under the Dutch-language system and half from general state inspectors of primary or secondary schools under the French-language system.

Article 9 (2). The jury shall give its decision not later than one month after notification of the appeal.

Article 9 (3) The head of the family and the head of the school shall be notified by registered letter of the jury's motivated decision.

Article 10. The rules of procedure of the board and the jury shall be fixed by Ministerial Decree on the proposal of the respective chairman.

Article 11. Our Minister of Education and Our Minister Secretary of State at the Ministry of Education are hereby appointed to execute this decree.

Done at Brussels on 30th November 1966

Baudouin
By Order of the King:
F. Grootjans
Minister of Education
M. Toussaint
Minister Secretary of State at the
Ministry of Education
P. Wigny
Minister of Justice

APPENDIX G

EXCERPTS FROM THE HARMEL REPORT (APRIL 24, 1958)*

Cultural Section:

1. The Walloon community and the Flemish community should be homogeneous. Flemish who settle in Wallonia and Walloons who settle in Flanders must be resorbed by the environment. In this way the personal element is sacrificed for the territorial element.

2. Consequently all the cultural system must be French in Wallonia and Flemish in Flanders.

3. The Walloon community and the Flemish community must be able to maintain children born respectively in Wallonia and in Flanders and who have moved to Brussels, and in the same way those who are born in Brussels of parents who are native to Wallonia and Flanders. In the capital, the personal element must prevail over the territorial element.

4. The Brussels cultural system should therefore logically be:

a) French if the Brussels child was born in Wallonia or in Brussels of parents themselves born in Wallonia;

b) Flemish if the Brussels child is born in Flanders or in Brussels of parents themselves born in Flanders.

5. If the Brussels child is born in Brussels of parents born either in the capital or in two different regions of the country, it is up to the father to decide the cultural system adopted for the child. This formula, which combines territoriality and personality, will be reserved exclusively for the Brussels urban area ... As regards children born in Brussels of parents belonging to two different communities, the rule must be the free choice of the father.

In principle, the Walloons of Brussels must benefit by the same system as the Walloons in Wallonia, the Flemish of Brussels the same system as the Flemish of Flanders.

Having regard to the special nature of the Brussels urban area, optional instruction in Dutch for the Walloons and in French for the Flemish should be provided in fourth forms of upper schools.

It would be desirable for the Dutch language to be taught by Flemish teachers and the French language by Walloon or French-speaking teachers.

General Conclusions:

The Research Center recognizes the existence within the Belgian nation of two cultural communities, the Walloon community and the Flemish community. The Walloon community is French-speaking and the Flemish community is Dutch-speaking.

In order to develop to the full, these two communities must be in a position to be homogeneous, that is to say:

1) the intellectual life, education and administration must be unilingual;

2) linguistic minorities living within them cannot remain in isolation and must adapt themselves to the environment.

All forms of compulsory bilingualism are to be condemned. In effect, beside the fact that bilingualism is such as to debase the traditional character and individuality of the two communities, it results more often than not in an inadequate knowledge of the two national languages.

The Brussels urban area does not form a cultural community. In actual fact, Brussels and its suburbs belong both to the Walloon community and to the Flemish community whose joint property they are.

Because of the present centralization in Belgium, the two communities are subjected to a symmetrical system which ignores their characteristics and their needs. Now what is good for one is not necessarily so for the other. They are entitled to a system which respects their personality and provides them with what is exactly suited to them.

As regards more especially to the Walloon community, this is entitled to be freed from the power of oversight exercised over it by the Brussels urban area.

Although the Brussels urban area is for the most part French-speaking, the origin of a great number of its French-speaking inhabitants and the bilingualism which they practise, as also the presence of a considerable Dutch-speaking minority, confer on the capital a hybrid character which does not qualify it to play a governing role in the development of French culture in Wallonia. Moreover, the Brussels urban area, because of the possibilities which it offers, attracts to it many people of real ability from the Walloon provinces, this impoverishing the major centres of Wallonia and leaving them with only a secondary or even a third-rate role in the intellectual life of the country.

Again, the presence in Brussels of a French-speaking majority and the tendency found to absorb as rapidly as possible the Dutch-speaking inhabitants into a hybrid form of bilingualism or even into one of French unilinguism, means that the capital is not at present qualified to play a leading role in the development of the Dutch culture of Flanders.

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*Quoted in Robert Senelle, *The Revision of the Constitution, 1967-1971, Memo from Belgium*, nos 144-145-146 (January-February-March 1972), (Brussels: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, External Trade and Cooperation in Development, 1972), pp. 3-17.

APPENDIX H

EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Article 8

1. Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence.

2. There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right except such as is in accordance with the law and is necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic well-being of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

Article 14

The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, color, language, religion, political, or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status.

FIRST PROTOCAL

Article 2

No person shall be denied the right to education. In the exercise of any functions which it assumes in relation to education and to teaching, the State shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions.

APPENDIX I

DECLARATION DU CHEF DE FAMILLE

(Article 17 de la loi du 30 juillet 1963)

1. *L'élève:*
   Nom:
   Prénoms:
   Date et lieu de naissance:

2. *Le père de l'élève:*
   Nom:
   Prénoms:
   Date et lieu de naissance:
   Domicile:

3. *La mère de l'élève:*
   Nom:
   Prénoms:
   Date et lieu de naissance:
   Domicile

4. *Langue maternelle ou usuelle de l'élève:*

5. *Autres informations que le chef de famille juge utiles:*

Date et signature:
Visa de l'inspection linguistique:

30 NOVEMBER 1966. – KONINKLIJK BESLUIT TOT VASTSTELLING VAN DE VORM VAN HET GETUIGSCHRIFT EN VAN DE TAALVERKLARING, BEDOELD BIJ ARTIKEL 17, VIJFDE LID, VAN DE WET VAN 30 JULI 1963, HOUDENDE TAALREGELING IN HET ONDERWIJS.

VERKLARING VAN HET GEZINSHOOFD

(Artikel 17 van de wet van 30 juli 1963)

1. *Leerling:*
   Naam:
   Voornamen:
   Geboorteplaats en -datum:

2. *Vader van de leerling:*
   Naam:
   Voornamen:
   Geboorteplaats en -datum:
   Woonplaats:

3. *Moeder van de leerling:*
   Naam:
   Voornamen:
   Geboorteplaats en -datum:
   Woonplaats:

4. *Moedertaal of gebruikelijke taal de leerling:*

5. *Andere inlichtingen die het gezinshoofd wenselijk acht:*

Datum en handtekening:
Visum van de taalinspectie:

APPENDIX J

CERTIFICAT CONCERNANT LA LANGUE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT

(Article 17 de la loi du 30 juillet 1966)

Le soussigné ...., chef de l'école ...., déclare par la présente que l'élève ...., né(e) le .... a suivi un enseignement en langue ....

Il ressort des documents produits que l'élève a suivi l'enseignement dans la même langue de la .... jusque et y compris la .... année d'études.

Date et signature:

GETUIGSCHRIFT BETREFENDE DE ONDERWIJSTAAL

(Artikel 17 van de wet van 30 juli 1963)

Ik ondergetekende ...., inrichtingshoofd van ...., hierbij dat de leerling ...., geboren op ...., onderwijs heeft genoten in de .... taal.

Uit de voorgelegde bescheiden blijkt dat de leerling in dezelfde taal onderwijs genoten heeft van ...., tot en met .... leerjaar.

Datum en handtekening:

APPENDIX K

LAW OF 26 JULY 1971

Organizing the agglomerations and the federations of communes.

EXCERPT

Article 88. Article 5 of the Act of July 1963 concerning the language regime in schools is replaced by the following text:

> *Article 5:* In the capital city, Brussels, the language of instruction is French or Netherlandish according to the choice of the head of the family when he resides in that city.

APPENDIX L

LAW OF 27 JULY 1971

modifying Article 10 of the Law of 30 july 1963 concerning language instruction in schools

Article 10 of the Act of 30 July 1963 concerning language instruction in schools is amended as follows:

> In the area of Brussels-Capital instruction in the second language may be given starting in the first year of primary school for two hours a week. Such instruction must be only in oral language. It is not compulsory.

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